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OF CURRENT ACQUISITIONS

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REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS

The Library of Congress Film Project: Exposition of a Method

SINCE the spring of 1942 a small staff of analysts,¹ with headquarters at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, has been previewing all American pictures due for commercial release (and a few foreign ones)—a yearly eyeful, if features, shorts, "documentaries," newsreels, are counted together, of approximately 1,400 films. The duty of these analysts is to recommend each year a limited number of the 1,400 films for preservation by the Library of Congress.

The Library is entitled to all films that are copyrighted. But a lack of storage facilities has in the past prevented it from taking advantage of this title. Even now, funds extended by the Rockefeller Foundation to cover a three-year period of experimentation make possible only limited storage. It is hoped that after the war a central film depository will be built, and a permanent fund voted for its administration. But in view of the number of films produced, and the difficulties and expense not only of shelving them but of keeping them from deterioration, it is likely that at least some selectivity will continue to be exercised.

The general principle to govern selection was determined by the Library at the inception of the project: A collection is desired that will serve the student of history rather than the student

¹ The present staff consists of Norbert Lusk, Philip T. Hartung, Liane Richter, Barbara Deming and Barbara Symmes. Two other persons have previously served on the staff, Margaret Jones and Elisabeth James. The author of this article wishes to acknowledge a friendly debt to the critic Siegfried Kracauer, for many of the thoughts expressed here crystallized after conversations with him.

of the movie art as such, a collection that will illuminate in retrospect the periods which have produced the films. The duty of the analysts has been to develop, during this period of experimentation, a method of study whereby films most capable of this service to the future historian may be recognized.

The first step toward order has been to distinguish the two modes in which films may reflect the period in which they are made. Films may reveal something about a period directly—they may be, in whole or in part, true-to-life; or they may reveal something indirectly—they may reflect a current mentality. The same film may of course serve the historian in both modes: at one moment the important exhibit for him will be the camera's subject; at the next it will lie beyond the camera's eye or behind it, will be the psychology he can deduce as responsible for the camera's motions.

But in whichever mode it is afforded, the evidence has to be tested according to definite criteria. The historian deserves the most significant, most reliable and most vivid evidence. The evidence need be significant in no obvious or public sense. It also need not be reliable strictly on its own merits—supplementary evidence may play a role. But it needs to be vivid in specifically movie terms; the look afforded the historian should be one he could not duplicate through some other medium.

These criteria cannot be applied to a film in any automatic fashion, whether it is being tested for direct or indirect revelations. In the first place, a film need not by itself fit the specifications, if it will do so in conjunction with other films of its year, or in relation to films of past years. It is a collection of films, valuable as a whole, that is desired. So the films must be held up to the light of the criteria not only singly but in shifting constellations. But even if the films could be tested singly, one by one, this test could not be an automatic one, because of the complexity of the film medium—a complexity both as art form and as social product. Elaborate analysis is called for, because the film, a performing art borrowing from all the other arts, is

multivocal—and its voices may speak in harmony or discord, simple or subtle. If indirect revelations are sought, elaborate interpretation is called for also, because many people are involved in a film's making—even the demands and expectations of the public assist indirectly at the production—and so the different notes struck can be traced now to one and now to quite another causality. The analyst is obliged to commit himself to many different kinds of judgments. He must play not only the art critic but the historian, the sociologist, the psychologist and in the end even the philosopher.

Judgments are perhaps simpler where it is for direct revelations that films are being tested. In this connection films may be sorted roughly into those which afford a look at the times quite literally and those which afford it through representation, through art. Here again, judgments are simpler where the look is afforded literally. But even here they cannot be automatic. Nor can this division between literal presentation and re-presentation hold up for long; it can be posited for a while, for the sake of convenience, but is very soon over-stepped.

I. REVELATIONS IN THE DIRECT MODE

(A)

Revelations about the objects, places, persons, events presented on the screen literally, by means of "actuality" shots

To make wise decisions as to which "actuality" shots will prove of most direct historical significance, demands self-imposed perspective—and always a certain amount of guesswork. One must hazard: This man rather than that man, this speech rather than that speech, will go down in history. One must, in other words, play the historian oneself, and precociously.

One can play safe and save a little of everything. For instance, now, during the war, the five newsreel companies draw upon a common pool of raw footage. Each edits this in its own way, but "exclusives" are rare. So if the analysts save one company's release each time, they can say they haven't missed anything. And yet there are more ways than one of missing something. If five newsreel companies had covered the Gettysburg Address, and each had used different portions of the footage available, would the historian of today forgive the collectors of yesterday for having saved only one company's version? The historian will want, on certain subjects, not only just some sort of story but the nearest approximation to the whole story. For half a story may be no story. Or half a story may be a false story.

"The camera doesn't lie" is a common saying; but the camera can lie, or it can be accessory to a lie, in any number of fashions.

The lie may be one of omission. Some character executes a solemn motion of obeisance—then winks at a neighbor. If the camera omits the wink, it as good as lies. The native of a captured town shows the camera her teeth in a great big welcoming grin—then the grin explodes; an apprehensive look remains. If the camera records the beginning but not the end of this, it as good as lies.

This last example introduces another sort of lie, the lie resulting from self-consciousness. If people know they're being photographed, the document may be worthless; the behavior the camera wished to record may become, at the very moment the camera appears, quite another sort of behavior, put on for the occasion. It may happen of course that this second play is more worth recording than the original; for it may be just exactly his special relation to the camera that tells most about some character. G. B. Shaw is no doubt more himself performing for the camera than filmed by it unawares. At the other extreme, newsreel bits showing battle-weary soldiers advancing upon the cam-

era as though it weren't there—just not giving a damn—are among the most eloquent documents of this war.

The sequence in which shots are arranged may effect a lie. A sequence may imply, for example, that the shots it contains were taken in the same vicinity, or in the same hour, when this is not the case. Shots may be intimately matched that originally had nothing at all to do with each other. The week the liberation of Rome was being featured in newsreels, a shot of upturned faces beaming approval was placed by one newsreel company after a shot of Umberto on a balcony, and by another company after a shot of a Yank on a different balcony, burlesquing Mussolini.

The accompanying sound track may be responsible for the lie. In the same week just mentioned, one newsreel company ran the shots of the Pope giving a large crowd his blessing, to an accompaniment of cheers and whistling and hoarse calls; another implied a respectful hush. Even a musical accompaniment can lead one to think that one is seeing something actually not visible in a film. It can lead one, for example, to attribute to a group of figures a special mood. The commentator, "interpreting" the scene, can play the same misleading role. And the commentator can of course identify shots incorrectly.

Films may be unworthy of preservation under the category of direct revelations because they mislead, because they orient one falsely; or they may be unworthy because they don't really lead one to any knowledge, because they provide no orientation at all.

The search for the most valuable documents among "actuality" shots is a search above all for glimpses that are intelligible wholes. It is easy to give the criterion "vivid" a superficial reading and make a collection of brilliant fragments that do not tell much. The camera can provide us with startling views, and film cutting can transport us magically from spot to spot, and yet we can sit back—having been shown very little.

There is even sometimes occasion to be grateful for the accidental shackling of the camera; it may allow one to orient one-

self as one has previously been unable to do. One of this war's most lively bits of newsreel is a sequence taken aboard an aircraft carrier under attack. The camera, because of battle conditions, is arbitrarily rooted to one spot. Just because of this, and because there's no need to try to figure out one's location from one shot to another, one can use one's eyes to the limit.

Superficial reading of the criterion "vivid" can be corrected if it is thought of continually in the light of the criterion "significant." The historian will be interested in knowing what went on most particularly in terms of the human experience involved. It is the films which orient one in this special regard that will be most valuable to him.

It can be the element of art, of course, rather than the element of accident that serves to orient one. Every now and then a film comes along which employs no footage that is particularly new—even, perhaps, employs nothing but "library" footage—but which, through art, orients one among the fragments, gathers them together under one unifying principle, so that one looks at the familiar shots and finds that they contain surprises. These films are worth saving above all. "Desert Victory" is such a film. "Battle of Russia," composed almost entirely of "library" footage, is another.

It is worth noting that "Desert Victory" makes use not only of some "library" shots but of some specially enacted shots. But here instead of decreasing the reliability of the film as a document, they can be said to increase it, for they contribute to its intelligibility. "Desert Victory" also makes use of dubbed-in sound. And again it can be said that reliability is increased rather than decreased. If it is true that inappropriate sound effects can distract and delude one's eyes, it is also true that appropriate sound effects can in effect open one's eyes.

At this point the distinction set up for the sake of convenience between literal presentation and representation through art has been firmly over-stepped.

(B)

Revelations about objects, places, persons, events represented on the screen, through art

A studio film, because of the leisure and safety that attend its shooting, and because of the professional relation of the human subjects to the camera eye upon them, can sometimes round out a story, provide a glimpse that is an intelligible whole, where an "actuality" film could not. At the level of exploring a scene of action, and of exploring what one might call a routine of action, "In Which We Serve" affords such a glimpse of this war. So, to varying degrees, do "Action in the North Atlantic," "Guadalcanal Diary," "Sahara" and others. They make the floor plan of battle clearer to us.

But where at this rather mechanical level of exhibiting the literal motions men go through in battle, the films mentioned are scrupulously reliable, at the more complex level of exhibiting the psychological motions men go through, they are much less reliable. As soon as it is human experience that is being explored, the picture that is not only a vivid picture but a true picture becomes a rarity. It takes vision and honesty, and it takes art, not just scrupulosity, to depict with any accuracy the social and psychological realities special to the times.

As soon as it is human experience that is being explored, it takes a degree of honesty on the part of the analyst to recognize the truth. The analyst is open to the same temptations as the artist to rationalize, to dream day dreams; he is not beyond picking as a true picture the picture he would like to think true. But although it is difficult to find and to recognize a picture true at this level, the picture, if it can be found, is of more significance to the historian than a picture true at a more mechanical level, for it is more difficult to reconstruct in retrospect the psychological realities of a period than it is to reconstruct the material realities. Fortunately, though a picture that is consistently true at this level is rare, certain facts about the moving picture as a

medium conspire to let the truth through in fragments, in brief flares, even in pictures generally suffering from lack of vision, honesty and art.

The fact that the film is a performing art, preserved as performed, introduces the chance that the actors, who beneath their paint are quite literally true-to-life people of the period, will involuntarily scuff in onto the carpet with them a bit of this real life—will speak not for the play merely but for themselves.

Thus, to begin again at the most literal level, the historian can often trust a fiction film just as well as an actuality film to tell him how the people of the period wore their clothes, handled the daily props of life, pronounced the language. (This is true of course to any extent only where the mode of acting is naturalistic. And even here, the historian will need guidance from the analyst in spotting as such certain brands of exaggeration—where, for example, Hollywood provides its own version of professional, class or race idiosyncrasies.) There are special activities, such as singing, dancing, music-making, which can convey, even more than everyday gesture, the spirit of an age, its special idiom and manner, and which can be safely taken by the historian to have been executed in real life pretty much as he sees them executed on the screen. No great demands will have been made upon honesty here—there is little pressure to distort the facts of how one sings or dances.

But even at more complex levels, levels at which there is pressure to fictify, the actors will sometimes scuff in with them something of the truth. It is chiefly the realities of social antipathy that are likely to flare through the fabric of a film—antipathies between race and race or class and class. This happens pretty exclusively in the cheaper grade of films, the “quickies.” In the Grade A super production, the comforting cliché, the pleasant lie, will be wrapped in cellophane, air-tight. But in the “quickie” the fiction gets a more casual handling. The script is a hasty job to begin with. The actors go through their lines without undue

fretting about the script's intentions, improvising with their own immediate feelings, acting by reflex. And there are few retakes. Thus a line will be given extra vehemence, or a certain gesture will be inserted between the lines, quite overstepping the bounds of the script. A white character will yell at a Negro: "Get out of my way!" A show girl will give a rich, highly-educated Boston youth a look of pity and disdain.

Very occasionally the script will intentionally allow the actor to speak his natural piece. Thus in "I Walked With A Zombie," produced by Val Lewton, the double-edged relationship between Negro and white is part of the film's original design. The film itself is sharply eloquent about this relationship because the Negro actors know so well what the play is they are playing; but it took a rare degree of sophistication on the part of Lewton to allow the actors this play.

It may have taken a degree of boldness, too. But the film, it seems, aroused no comment on this score. And this fact implies another characteristic of the movie medium (a characteristic of any imaginative medium) that can assist sometimes at the flickering materialization of the truth. A film is multivocal, can speak at several different levels simultaneously. So sometimes articulation of an accepted cliché at one level will leave the way open at another level for bald reportage of the truth or for the presentation of a controversial question—without anyone's being unduly disturbed. Not only is "I Walked with a Zombie" set by Lewton in the West Indies, so that one need not take the picture as relevant to conditions in this country; but it also is at the surface level nothing more than a thriller, involving voodoo and zombies and the like, and frequently speaks in the accents of the most accepted popular magazine trash, so that the public is not obliged to take its undertones seriously.

But it is more frequently out of the naïveté than out of the sophistication of film makers that something of the truth will be allowed to stare through at us. The makers will arrange the

agreeable cliché at the surface, and then will be able without flinching to report all along the way the most unpleasant facts. "Underdog" is a good example. At the surface level this film is a simple-minded success story. Mother, father and son move from farm to city, and make good in the war effort. Actually, all along the way, the film exhibits quite accurately some of the painful pressures and dislocations war-time conditions can cause. In the end, of course, everything shapes up all right. But the shaping up is all Hollywood's; the original condition continues to speak out to us in a voice all its own.

With all such films it is the responsibility of the analyst to isolate very clearly the voice the historian may trust; and if the voice wavers, it is his responsibility to mark the spot. With the film just mentioned, this is not too difficult a job; but on some films the operation is extremely delicate. In Preston Sturges films, for example, one finds often not two voices contradicting each other at separate levels, but two contradictory voices twined into a single voice of wondrous ambiguity. Or he will dump some character, or even society, into the flames of satire—then proceed with unexcelled dexterity to rake this same character or society out of the coals, so that we may all go home untroubled. The problem with his films is to distinguish the original vision from the compromise.

With Sturges, another point can be illustrated. Direct film glimpses into some typical psychology of the time need not necessarily be afforded in the naturalistic mode. Sturges makes his original telling incisions in the style of high farce, but the farce in these instances has serious implications. Even an animated cartoon substituting animal for human figures can, by caricature, afford the desired glimpse. The cartoon "Swooner Crooner," for example, employing hysterical chicken figures, does a rather neat job on the phenomenon of Sinatra worship.

It may be objected that in committing himself to a non-naturalistic style, the artist introduces himself, makes a judg-

ment about what men are and what life is—and we are at a level of reality where no objective criterion of truth exists. But naturalism is a style as well as farce, and implies a judgment. Even if the artist adopts no clear style, he makes a judgment. The judgment may be that he doesn't know what to think of the material, but this is still a judgment. Even where the film is composed of actuality shots, the sequence in which the shots are arranged implies a judgment; the original motion described by the camera's eye implies a judgment; even if the projector is stopped and the shot is viewed as a still, the angle at which the camera has been set implies a judgment. There is no such thing as a presentation of events that is impersonal.

This is the crux of the difficulty of selecting films as true-to-life: The material level, even in reportorial films, will always contain implications of the level of experience, the level of social and psychological reality. The literal may be rather unintelligible, rather meaningless, unless given a clear context in these terms. Yet the artist cannot define social and psychological realities without committing himself, wittingly or unwittingly, to certain philosophical judgments. If he hedges about these judgments, seeks to avoid committing himself, the material becomes less intelligible, less vivid, yet at this level of reality one can no longer speak of the true or false with any authority. It is necessary to go very warily; one must always be isolating, circumscribing, what of the picture one may trust. It is best, in dealing with films in the direct mode, to look chiefly for the more material revelations—the milieu of the period, the daily routine of living. It is best, in searching for a definition of those psychological and social realities in terms of which alone the material realities come alive, to turn to the indirect mode of revelation. In that mode, the inevitable presence of the artist's (or artists') signature is no longer our limitation. We need no longer try to leave it out of the picture; it is the accepted object of our study.

II. REVELATIONS IN THE INDIRECT MODE (OR TO BE DEDUCED FROM THE LIFE ON THE SCREEN)

The job so far has been to scan each film for its value as a direct mirror of the period. The job from here on is to step through the looking glass—to seek revelations about the people who made the films, and about the people for whom the films were made. For this job it becomes no longer pertinent to sort films into those employing actuality shots and those employing staged shots. This was convenient when our concern was with the fidelity to life of the image on the screen, but our concern now is with the psychology responsible for the film. Although the two different kinds of shots—the actuality and the staged—are to different degrees pliable to the artist's will, still it is the nature of that will in either case that is now pertinent. It is convenient to speak first of films which are "topical," which take the issues of the day consciously as their subject matter—and in the process openly reveal what attitudes towards those issues the film makers hold, and the film audience will accept. It is convenient to speak next of those films which intend primarily to entertain—but which, since they are made for people who wish release from the stress of the day's issues, can reveal those issues, and current attitudes toward them, as dreams do, darkly.

(A)

Topical films

As soon as one tries to sort out those films which consciously treat of the day's issues, it becomes apparent that the distinction set up is, again, a tenuous one. Certain films easily fit the definition: The March of Time, the army orientation film, the newsreel in which the commentator flatly editorializes, the fiction film in which the characters virtually exhort us, in person, to follow one program of action or another. But there is also the newsreel or "documentary" which exposes a certain condition without

verbal comment; there is the fiction film which does the same, or which without describing a certain condition at all, may obliquely cast a sharp light on it. There are all degrees of subtlety in presentation. There are also all degrees of consciousness of intention. Without pretending there are any real boundaries to this field, then, I shall merely posit it for a while, and then dismiss it.

A film's mere choice of subject matter declares: It was thought important or it was thought profitable at the time to talk about this particular matter. The historian will already have part of an answer to the question of what were the issues of the day he is studying. Yet the historian will sometimes have not enough of an answer unless he knows *who* thought it profitable or important to talk of the subject, and to *whom*. Topical films are more likely than others to be not regular commercial releases but special government releases; or commercial releases with special government backing. They may also be intended for distribution among specialized audiences. The Signal Corps orientation films, for example, were made for armed services personnel, although some of them have since achieved more general distribution. "War Department Report" was addressed particularly to war workers. In the case of these particular films, it would be apparent to the historian what audience was intended. But this is not always the case; sometimes it must be the analyst's job to inform him. For example, a film was made which praised the French Canadians for their all-out patriotic contribution to this war; this film was distributed not through all of Canada, not through the United States, but exclusively (as far as I know) to the French Canadians. In the same fashion a film was made praising the Southern farmers for their all-out patriotic contribution to this war; this film was distributed not throughout the United States generally, but exclusively (as far as I know) among the Southern farmers.

The historian will sometimes be in a much better position to deduce the significance of the attitudes expressed in a film,

if he knows some of the facts not only about its distribution but about its reception—if he is provided by the analyst with a good sampling of reviews and of any special articles that may have been provoked. Such films as "Mission to Moscow" and "Lifeboat" might mislead the historian about these times, if he were not familiar with the controversy they aroused.

One would be inclined to say that all films arousing special controversy should be saved automatically. But sometimes a film that is in itself very unaggressive, politically speaking, will arouse a storm of political comment. For example, Westbrook Pegler raised a hubbub about "Action in the North Atlantic," citing it as evidence that Communism has a foothold in Hollywood—this because the film dramatizes the heroisms of the Merchant Marine. If the film were not worth saving on the score that it makes certain aspects of this war mechanically clearer to us, a simple description of the film, or perhaps its script, with Pegler's exclamations of horror attached, might well suffice the historian. In this case it is the comment about the film that is the primary exhibit; the film merely sheds light upon the comment, is not in itself vivid.

Too often the evidence in this field is not in film flesh. Too often, for example, it is the film's script that is the primary exhibit, and there is no need to save the film itself. It is very much the fashion at the moment to make films after topical novels and plays, and it is a weakness special to such films that they still try to say everything with the word, and add no new dimension of their own. In such cases the script, and perhaps a few stills, to indicate types employed in the leading roles, would suffice the historian. Film editorials are also very liable to lean upon the word. The word will carry the argument; every transition will be effected by the word; sometimes even the poetic dimension will be supplied by the word—the commentator will indulge in rich verbal metaphors. Meanwhile the film image itself will be but a drudge, providing literal-minded illustrations.

Sometimes it happens, however, that although a film has its

argument complete on paper, the visuals will unofficially take over the show, and advance their own argument, against the grain of the verbal argument. The resulting discord will tell the historian much. I have already remarked that this can happen in the newsreels. It can also happen in a March of Time. I think of one commentary about how liberal the trend is in a certain country, spoken to the accompaniment of shots of clean-faced ordered youths filing through health clinics, performing handsome calisthenics, and the like—shots echoing newsreels out of Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy.

The "visuals" can run away with the show in a fiction film quite as well as in a film employing actuality shots. Such films may provide exceptional exhibits of the relation in a certain period between attitudes consciously entertained and attitudes subconsciously entertained. It is interesting, for example, to inquire what story the producers of "Lifeboat" thought they were telling, and what story is in the last analysis told. The issue supposedly paramount in this film is: What shall we do about the Germans? The film formally composes itself in relation to this issue. It begins as the captain of a sunken Nazi submarine is picked up by survivors of the ship his submarine has torpedoed, and after detailing a gruelling adventure which culminates when they toss the Nazi overboard, it ends, in aria da capo fashion, as a second Nazi is being picked up. It ends by voicing the question: What are we going to do with him? But although it formally composes itself around this issue, the issue that it worries about perhaps more doggedly still is how Labor and Capital are going to get along together in the democracies. It stages a very complicated allegory on this topic. For example, it is Labor's boot that Capital uses to knock the Nazi over the head. And for example, Capital and Labor quarrel bitterly in a poker game, each accusing the other of cheating, each gloating and threatening whenever good cards come his way. At the very end, by having the two be elaborately polite to each other about who owes whom just how much, the film seems to predict that after

the war, Labor and Capital will discard their grievances and walk hand in hand. That is, one can puzzle out of the word, and one can puzzle out of the allegorical gesture, that the film intends this.

But it is interesting to examine "Lifeboat" from one special standpoint: To ask simply where it comes most to life, to ask what passages the audience can, without puzzling out what the words intend, without puzzling out what the allegorical gestures intend, apprehend sensuously. In terms of the issue of harmony between Labor and Capital, it must be said that it is in those passages where the two are scrapping, rather than in those passages where they are honoring each other, that the film comes to life. But there is one passage above all in which the film comes to life, mobilizes all the resources of the medium, so that one does not have to use one's head at all to grasp what is going on. The storm has nearly swamped the boat. The glamorous and rich female correspondent and the stoker have decided to go down together with a kiss. A wave breaks over us from the screen, then dissipates in tiny bubbles. As the screen clears, we see the little boat far off, riding a calm sea. We return to it in close-up. The backdrop behind the boat is no longer, as in previous scenes, a sky full of motion; it is a white sky, white and blank. Looming against this sky, the Nazi, now in control of the boat, rows, and his fists, foreshortened, lurch forward at us—as the others, draped wantonly upon each other, or piping German lullabies on a little tin pipe, or babbling for water, give it all up and let the Nazi take over. With this vision, one can say that another issue materializes: The issue of whether or not the democracies have any longer a foundation in a living faith, a working faith that can stand up against the Nazi's ruthless logic. At the conscious level, in terms of the carefully arranged allegory, the film is nicely optimistic on this score. But at this deeper level, where it lives, the film is dubious.

At this point it is possible to make a statement about the general limitations of what films in this topical grouping will be able

to signify to the historian. These films will be able to reveal to him what the makers thought to be major issues of the day, or found it expedient to say they thought. And they will be able to reveal to him what the makers thought they thought about these issues (or found it expedient to say they thought). Comments about these films, given the historian as supplementary evidence, will help him gauge the acceptance of these opinions by the public at large. But here again, these written comments about the films will not tell him the whole story of the public's response, for unless the movie-goer is exceptionally sophisticated, what he will write about his response will be a rationalization. Most of the attitudes expressed in the films, the historian will be able to find, just as well, in the newspapers, the magazines, the best-sellers of the period. Where the imagery is given any real sway in a film, he will be able to learn a little more about the real content of these attitudes than he could learn by meeting them in the public print; and sometimes he will be able to decipher, beneath the surface, attitudes not fully realized by the artists, or will be able to discern, even, issues with which they are concerned without their knowledge. But these glimpses will be fairly rare. It would be possible for the historian to have before him all the so-called topical films of a period, and still not learn the period's chief hopes or fears.

(B)

"Entertainment" films—films which are not topical but which, because they are in the nature of day dreams, bear the same relation dreams do to the events of the day

There is no pretense that this field is sharply divided from the first; in fact, in my last example I have been examining the topical reference of an "entertainment" film. Topical films, as well as entertainment films, are made to sell. And it would be silly to say that producers are in this field single-mindedly devoted to providing entertainment, with no consideration, conscious or unconscious, clumsy or subtle, of taking this stand or that stand

on certain issues. The two fields overlap. A film like "Lifeboat" certainly straddles both. A change of focus is involved in the present grouping, rather than a change of landscape. The focus here is on those films which above all mean to serve the public as daydreams. It is in a wise selection of a time's most popular film daydreams that the historian will find evidence of issues and of attitudes not talked of, not professed, but felt in the bones. From a study of these films, together with the topical films, he will be able to learn much about the equilibrium existing between deep-felt attitudes and verbalized attitudes, and from this will be able to deduce something of the state of health of the culture as a whole.

An obvious gauge of a film's importance as a dream is its box office take. It might seem that the analyst's job could be reduced to these very simple terms: Select for the historian those films which net most at the box office. But box office take can not be automatically equated with attendance figures. One would have to do something about comparing box office take with price of ticket, or one would neglect entirely dreams from the field of the cheaper productions. Also, the fact that a lot of people go to a film doesn't inevitably mean that once they get there they enjoy themselves. Any publicity man knows that flukes of chance can play a large part in a film's financial success. And in these days of lavish publicity stunts, box office receipts may well mean only that the producer sank a lot of money in the film and plugged the film hard to recover his investment. There is another consideration. Even if one could figure out, on a sliding scale, which were the most popular films, it might turn out that in saving those at the top, one would be saving the same dream over and over again, or the same dreams, and losing other dreams which did not happen to appear in the most popular individual pictures but did appear over and over again in a great number of cheaper, less popular pictures. In other words, it is the popularity of the dream and not of any individual picture which is significant. The only reliable pro-

cedure for making available to the historian a representative selection of the film dreams of a period is to distinguish those dream elements which recur in one film after another, and see that a selection of films is made which is representative in this respect.

The difficulty is that as soon as the analyst sets out to spot these recurrent elements, he may become lost in a sea of data. He is to make a cross-section, but where is he to start to cut? Should he, for example, pull out one of each general movie type: One Western, one Mystery, one Cops-and-Robbers, one Musical, one Romance, one Slapstick and so on? Should he pull out only examples of each type in its pure form, or should he represent mixed forms, too—the Mystery that is also a Slapstick, the Western that is also a Musical, and so on? Where should this stop? And should he also sort out recurrent character types? Should he sort out recurrent situations? Should he sort out recurrent plot twists? And in each of these cases, where should he draw the line?

It is obviously necessary to have represented only the most significant symptoms; only, in fact, what in medicine are known as syndromes, or significant constellations of symptoms. The same symptom may occur in a variety of diseases; it is by the syndrome that the doctor arrives at a diagnosis. And here is the crux of the difficulty of applying selective criteria to films in this field: Until the analyst has tried to interpret the films as dreams, he won't be able to make a good selection. Until he is able to hazard what the significance of a certain dream element is, he won't be able to say even that it is significant. Until he begins to develop some sense of what the dreams mean, he won't even be able to recognize them as dreams, or tell one from another.

But let us consider some samples of the effort to analyze films as dreams.

In a film called "Mr. Muggs Goes to Town," Muggs, a young hoodlum, is hired as chauffeur for a millionaire. He brings his entire neighborhood gang along with him for the fun; and pro-

ceeds jauntily to make himself and his gang at home. He eyes the millionaire's daughter, and remarks to the gang that she'll be fun to educate; boasts to the other servants of the fact that he's well known down at the police station; remarks casually to the gang: "Don't take anything this trip." The film throughout leans heavily for its appeal on this flaunting of Mugg's amorality. On the other hand, the plot of the film labors forward elaborately to have him acquitted of the same amorality. It stages a theft by an outsider, has Muggs suspected, has him then clear himself and stand a martyr. The plot also features a special development. The millionaire's daughter has a fiancé who is a stuffy young man and has never been able to raise her blood pressure. As the film proceeds, this young man discards his books, discards his glasses, discards his Boston accent, learns to say "ain't," learns to jitterbug and, at last, crescendo, learns to kiss the girl so that she knows it. Through emulation of Mr. Muggs, he has become a man.

One could say that this film makes no sense, is just the result of hasty, thoughtless production. But there is one standpoint from which it makes a very particular kind of sense. One can talk first of the deep-lying yen the producers are finding it good business to provide with dream release. And one can then interpret the kind of fulfilment that yen is given, in terms of the censorship the dream must pass—a censorship which wears two faces, one face that of the producer, one that of the public.

Thus, for example, the film indulges the yen of the less privileged to invade the ranks of the privileged. This yen finds a sort of relief at two quite distinct levels. At one level it is allowed to relieve itself in crude and violent and anarchistic fashion. But if license were to be granted it here, morality would impinge. The audience could not call this dream by its proper name and indulge itself comfortably, irresponsibly. So at another level events are called by a different name. At this level the less privileged come not as invaders but as healers, come not to overturn but to restore, come to regenerate the millionaire's

son-in-law, to make a man of him. Here the yen is granted a seemingly more "constructive" fulfilment; and in this guise the dream gets by the censor.

But how constructive is this fulfilment, examined closely? It is a good idea to examine it in the light of certain verbalizations prevalent in topical films—verbalizations about the common man and his importance. It may be pertinent, in fact, to view this dream as a sort of Hollywood version of Vice President Wallace's Century of the Common Man. Needless to say it is a perversion of Wallace's concept. Here indeed the Hollywood common man comes into his own. But in what precise fashion? He comes into his own not in terms of any appreciable bettering of his social, cultural or economic position. He imposes his own tastes on the "over-educated" rich. He leaves his mark. But he does not advance himself.

Here something more should be said about the censorship film dreams must pass. It may be justifiable to accuse producers of refusing, instinctively, the kind of day dream that would threaten their own political or social interests. But it must be emphasized that as box office profit is at stake for them as well as political profit, they must submit to certain minimum demands. They can not run counter to any live clear hopes on the part of the public; they can not stop the dream yen short of a fulfilment that would be vigorously anticipated. They can not withhold anything that will be clearly missed. Nor can they, of course, run counter to live doubts, give an audience a dream, however sweet, out of which it would wake. No matter what one cares to posit about the motives, conscious or unconscious, of the producers, the most salient evidence for the historian remains the evidence granted of audience hopes and fears, visions and confusions.

But the historian could not be sure of the significance as dream of a film like "Mr. Muggs" unless he knew whether it stood as an isolated case or whether its ingredients were to be found in other films as well.

It is not at all an isolated case. The victory of popular taste which it features is to be found over and over again in a wide variety of films. The scholar is taught slang, Iturbi is persuaded to boogey it up, Shakespeare is swung. Often, as in "Mr. Muggs," this victory is called a great blessing. The common man appears in the guise of Rousseau's natural man, and when through his agency the natural untutored vigor and virtue are restored to the land, minor miracles attend—men are made men, the old are made young, the estranged are reunited. Sometimes this disguise is dropped, spite has the floor, and the scene is rowdier. But whatever the variation of the theme, it is apt to be rendered with intensity.

The effete fiancé of the millionaire's daughter has his counterpart in many a film. One of last year's musicals, "Swing Out The Blues," coined a phrase for the type: Aristocrackpot. There are many variations of the type, both male and female, ranging from characters who are actively nasty to characters who are merely silly and ineffectual. In whatever variation, the aristocrackpot is again and again the common man's antagonist. Again and again it is this character the common man must either dispose of as a rival, or—still greater feat—translate, remake after his own image.

The aristocrackpot is almost invariably one of the specially privileged. If he has not riches, then he has special training—he is the highbrow artist; but usually he is the member of a rich family. But is the antagonist ever the head of the rich household, the father of the family? Very, very rarely. In fact, it is the father, frequently, who opens the door to the common man, who, when the common man invades the house, makes him welcome. In "Million Dollar Kid," for example, another film featuring Muggs and his gang, when the boys appear at the millionaire's house they are snooted by the butler; he orders them to the service entrance. For this the millionaire promptly fires the butler. No, the father of the house, the king of the rich castle, the money-maker himself, is almost never

the common man's antagonist. The one man who is not censured for being rich, is the man who makes the money. It is those who live on the money he has made, and with this money seek advantages and refinements, who are the enemy.

A few important exceptions can be noted. In some recent war films the big money-maker has been the common man's antagonist. These are the dramas of resistance in Nazi-occupied countries. The films sometimes show the big industrialist, or the big business man selling out to the enemy, while the taxi driver, the fisherman, the little clerk remain steadfast. These money men are of course men of another country, not of ours. And in many films even these men receive a careful whitewash. The big industrialist only seems to be a collaborationist traitor; he has indeed put his big factory at the disposal of the Nazis, but in the end we learn that he is having defective armaments turned out; he has entered the enemy camp to bore from within. One film, "In Our Time," dismisses the big money-maker as an important enemy figure in a particularly interesting fashion. Again, the aristocrackpot is whipping boy for him. But here the aristocrackpot is not another person; he is the money-maker himself. The money-maker gradually assumes his mask. The man is a Polish count. At the beginning of the film we see him hunting boar with the Nazis, and a melodramatic musical accompaniment tags him clearly a potent and cunning villain. Little by little the portrait begins to undergo alteration. We gather at the beginning of the film that the count operates many large mines and industries; but as the film proceeds, it is as a landowner that we come more and more to focus on him. For we follow the fortunes of a simple English girl who has married the count's nephew and gone to live with him on a large farm, subsidized by the count. On the count's farm the tractor is unknown, and the land is unable to pay for itself. The heroine fights to introduce changes. Under her influence, the count's nephew becomes more and more the common man, and he fights with her. Their aim is to make the farm self-supporting. The count resists this;

being rich, he doesn't care whether the farm makes money or not. More and more his villainy is seen to consist merely of this; he becomes identified with the idle rich. As the film ends, the Nazis are invading Poland. The audience has supposedly forgotten the count's happy boar-hunting scenes, for we see him now preparing to flee. And as he makes his final exit it is to wistful thin music. The portrait finally is that of a broken pathetic man, an ineffectual man who has never been able to catch up with the times. The poet of the family speaks his epitaph: He is of the race of dinosaurs, his kind is dying out. In short, he is not to be taken seriously. As a threat, this dream has quite wished him away, whitewashed him away.

Thus film after film is obedient to a compulsion to clear of any serious censure the big money man, the big breadwinner. The rich household itself is fumed against, but the kingpin of the household is not. Censure of the idle rich but not of the rich who work for their money is of course in the Puritan tradition. And it is in this tradition for the millionaire to be identified, as so frequently he is in these films, with the common man. For is he not just that—the common man who has fulfilled himself, who has scaled the ladder of success, who has made good? The successful breadwinner cannot be censured, if there is to be a Horatio Alger myth.

But is there a Horatio Alger myth in current films? So far, although films have been examined in which the common man leaves his mark, no films have been examined in which he appreciably advances himself.

But let us examine "Random Harvest." A lowly show-girl (Greer Garson) marries an ex-soldier (Ronald Colman), an amnesia victim. They are almost penniless but live happily in a simple little cottage (very adequately furnished of course by MGM with priceless antiques). The hero in an accident suddenly loses all memory of these latest years but regains his earlier memories; he finds that he is a big prince of industry. The heroine searches for him and finds him. She doesn't force her-

self upon him when he doesn't recognize her; she simply becomes his secretary, and makes herself invaluable, and so becomes his social secretary, and then in due course his wife. She waits patiently until the happy day when his memory returns; he recognizes her and she becomes a wife in truth; their love is restored.

Is this not a success story? Note the dream ease with which the lowly show girl ascends the social ladder—Miss Garson is never shown as having one awkward moment. The hero of course ascends with an even more magic ease; he simply recovers from amnesia.

But it is worth looking very closely at the hero in his role as the prince of industry. Note that when he returns to this life he immediately declares his intention of merely paying off the family debts that have accrued, arranging for his relatives' comfort, and then retiring. Then he finds that many, many small families are dependent for their livelihood upon his remaining in industry, and so he remains, reluctantly. The film does a very careful job of stressing his nobility. His eye is always out for the little fellow. We see him, for instance, settle a strike—to the utter satisfaction of the strikers, who end by serenading him with "He's a jolly good fellow!" But the really interesting note in the picture is the wistful note. As he sits in his spacious office, the prince of industry is filled with vague nostalgic yearnings; he dreams dimly of a wife he once had and a life he once had—he can't quite remember, but it was all very sweet, and it took place in a simple little cottage. The dream is a dream of ascending a ladder, but at the top of the ladder the dreamer looks down wistfully and would be back at the first rung if he could. It's not irrelevant that only when chance brings the hero again to the simple little cottage, does he recover his memory, and recover his true love again. In fading out on the two standing together at the cottage door, the dream does, in fact, with relief descend the ladder again.

It may be objected that this is reading more into the film than is justified: Of course the industrialist was wistful, he was yearning for Greer Garson; he just happened to have known her in a little cottage, and isn't it perfectly logical that his memory should have returned there, at the scene of their former love? The objection would be valid enough if it were not for the fact that film after film displays the same pattern of ascending and then with relief descending again the social ladder, relinquishing the heights gained. Betty Grable musicals, for example, regularly display this pattern. In both "Coney Island" and "Sweet Rosie O'Grady," for example, the singer of obscure origin, having achieved success, immediately begins to question the value of what she has gained, and turns back again toward the simple past. The pattern is included, by the way, in "Lifeboat," although set there in a rather more complicated and a rather more ambiguous total context: The heroine's worldly goods—all gained the hard way—go overboard one by one, camera, mink coat, typewriter, diamond bracelet; and she is, we gather, temporarily the better for it; she makes for the arms of the ship's stoker, who comes from the wrong side of the tracks in Chicago, which is just where she had had her start.

The pattern is to be found even in animated cartoons. In the cartoon "Cilly Goose," a goose lays a very ordinary egg and is not satisfied with it. In a dream she gilds her egg, and gets to be a sensational attraction at Madison Square Garden; she is exhibited with her golden egg to the ecstatic masses. But the dream turns into a nightmare; she is very nearly killed by the stampeding greedy public; she escapes back to the barnyard. There she awakes to find that the ordinary egg she scorned has hatched into a gosling with endearing ways. The film comes to a happy close on the domestic note.

A whole run of cheap productions intended for small theatres in the sticks play off the dangers and temptations of the career against the safety and morality of domesticity. In "Man of Courage," for example, our hero, a district attorney, gets to

be governor—in virtue, chiefly, of his successful prosecution of a certain case. He then learns that he has sent an innocent woman to jail—his political backer, without his knowledge of course, had bribed one of the witnesses to perjure himself. Our hero resigns as governor, and the film comes to a happy ending as he marries the woman he had unjustly jailed and sets up housekeeping with her in the suburbs.

This film introduces a nightmare note that is to be found in many other films: The possibility that one will in business life sin against another through no volition of one's own—even without knowledge that one is doing so. One is always acting for others, and one is always acting through others, and one is never entirely one's own boss. In a film like "Random Harvest," the noble intentions of the successful career character are carefully—are over-carefully—stressed. Here is suddenly the same coin, but the reverse side of the same coin. And the writing on this side of the coin can be more easily read.

Especially do current films gravitate toward the subject of the sins against others that result from commercialism; over and over the dream labors forward to wish away this guilt, to wash the hero clean of it. "True to Life" offers a good example. Two radio writers are supposed to be composing a serial about a simple human girl and her simple human family; but their characters lately have begun to sound fake. The two decide that the \$1000 a week apiece they've been earning has ruined them; they had better "return to the center of things," meet some "real people." One of them, our hero, after some wanderings finds the very family he's after: The girl works in a diner, the father works in a bakery, it's the typical simple American family. So our hero pretends he's a stranger to the town and out of work. They invite him to live with them while he hunts a job. This he does—and reports obediently to his partner what he witnesses there. The family's daily life is broadcast verbatim. The backers of the serial are delighted: "It's warm, real, human! And what's more it will sell soap!" Our hero falls in love with the

girl, and his wooing of her goes into the program too. Then at a certain point the family discovers what has been going on, and is outraged. The girl, of course, is the most outraged.

The dream mechanism by which the film now seeks to extricate the hero from his guilt, is a typical one. To add to all the other accusations hurled against him by the entire family, the heroine accuses the hero of making love to her merely to get material for his program. These are the magic words. At these words the whole dream focus is suddenly narrowed sharply; the hero, in effect, begins proclaiming over and over: "When I made love to you, I was on the level, you must believe me! When I made love to you, I was sincere—you do me injustice!" An elaborate trial of the hero on this score commences—the heroine will not easily be persuaded. But at long last she is persuaded; he stands acquitted. And by the dream magic, the moment he stands acquitted on this score, he appears to stand acquitted of his total guilt—no more questions are asked: The hero is sincere. In the lovers' close-up all worldly guilt is dissolved—the nightmare fades.

This escape is to be distinguished from the escape to the safety of suburban domesticity in a film like "Man of Courage." The hero in "Man of Courage" gives up his post as governor—the dream extricates him from the nightmare world by simply retiring him from it. The hero in "True to Life" does not give up his job in radio—the dream seeks to extricate him without retiring him. It seeks to extricate him by blacking him out in the Kiss.

One might say, too, that it seeks to extricate him by blacking him out into the nightmare itself. There is an interesting passage in the film where the backer of the program threatens, because of the suit brought by the simple family, to fire the hero and his partner. The partner suggests that they stay on the air with the program, admit to the public that the charges are true, and with the extra millions of cakes of soap they will be able to sell, because of the publicity, they will be able to pay off double on the suit. Our hero objects: They have done enough to that

family! But then he pauses: If the charges are admitted publicly, the family will be absolutely sure to win its suit. And so he agrees. This way he'll be able to repay them for what he's done. The way out of the nightmare is to enter it more deeply.

But once the dream takes this way, there is no stopping. The real dream frenzy now ensues. The film has the simple American family embrace notoriety. The house becomes a madhouse, as flocks of sightseers invade, the family screaming after them as they depart: "Don't forget to tell your friends about us!" As the curtain descends, hero and family, reconciled, are assisting each other at a final bang-up public broadcast, which is sure to sell more soap than has ever before been sold through this program; it is a true-to-life broadcast of the heroine's "yes" to the hero. This is the escape the dream has finally pulled off for its hero: As all the characters are in the same world with him now, there's no one to call it amoral.

It is Preston Sturges who has fashioned most ingeniously a dream by which the hero may gain an amoral world, remaining himself moral. The dream depends upon cunning use of the traditional figure of the Inspired Innocent. The hero, an unworldly fellow, a stutterer, a simple soul, does not seek the world—it is handed him. He does not "play it that way"—it comes out that way, in spite of him. When he makes the speech it is to refuse the post of mayor—but the speech gets him the post. He is thinking only of his mother, he is thinking only of the girl he loves, not of his own gain—but the world finds a use for him. This is the pattern in both "Miracle of Morgan's Creek" and "Hail the Conquering Hero." At the end of each film the hero is king of the castle, but has done no pushing; he is exalted upon the dunghill, uncontaminated.

In various films, in different guise, the same dream is in effect dreamed over and over. Films will again and again, as dreams will, approach the same guilt feeling, trying to erase it, or approach the same anxiety, trying to relieve it, the same yen, trying to indulge it. After examining the films of a period it is

possible to constellate them finally in shifting groups about certain major pressure points.

In selecting films for the historian, the analyst should be sure that at least one film from each constellation is included. But one film is not always enough. It is only as the analyst, viewing one film after another, comes upon the same dream again and again, that he is apt to become aware of it. And as the dream almost inevitably wears a disguise, it is only as he examines it in film after film that he is apt to penetrate to its meaning. The historian will be in a comparable position. He should, if possible, be provided with the same dream in a number of variations. If for technical reasons only a very limited selection of films is possible, then he should be provided with the analyst's interpretation of the films, and detailed reference to the variations of theme in other films not preserved.

Before deciding which are the most vivid examples in the field, the analyst should view the films of the year against the background of films that have been saved from other years. For the significance of a film dream is highlighted if it features an element that is traditional, but features it in a new fashion; if, for example, its hero is a familiar type that can be seen to have suffered a sea change.

In a film like "Mr. Lucky," for example, we see a traditional hero who has suffered such a change. Mr. Lucky is a professional gambler—an outlaw. In the past the outlaw was perhaps the subject of more or less serious social analysis or he was featured as the Satanic hero, the romantic rebel against society. In "Mr. Lucky," he is neither of these. In "Mr. Lucky," his identity is blurred with another identity: He is played up no longer as society's outlaw but as the very common denominator of society—he is played as the common man. The film is at one level the story of a gambler who has dodged the draft and undertakes to defraud the Red Cross. He falls in love with a rich girl who is working for the Red Cross, and ends as a patriot (and, of course, winner of the girl). But actually the conversion in this

film is very much blurred: Mr. Lucky is featured much less as the one who is converted than as the one who converts. He teaches the rich girl what life is all about: He teaches her slang, rebukes her snobbery, demonstrates to her that the ancestor who made her family fortune came up from nothing the hard way, just like Mr. Lucky himself.

Contrasting the outlaw's role here with the role he used to play, it is impossible not to ask: Why his translation? Why has the mask of the outlaw been appropriated by the common man? Does this mask have any relevance? If we examine the common man in film after film—whether or not behind the mask of outlaw—we find that he is in an ambiguous position: His status in society is not quite clear, his stake in society is not quite clear. So the disguise is relevant. For he is a citizen, but he is a citizen without a vision of a City—he is citizen but he is also outlaw.

His position is clearer, again, if he is studied in relation to another traditional hero, a more direct forebear: The success boy, the Horatio Alger hero. In former films we saw the hero make his way up the steep social ladder, by the strength of his bright talents; at the end of the film the poor boy was a rich boy, the humble maid was a lady—and well pleased. But in current films we see the hero, when he has reached the top, either with relief retreat again or, remaining, blink an anxious eye at values lost along the way. We see the hero no longer briskly making his own way. We see him instead disclaiming responsibility for having arrived where he has arrived; we see him denying that his life has been in his own hands; we see him playing the helpless, playing the babe in the woods. We see, in fact, at a certain point, one director, Sturges, making cunning use of the Innocent, another traditional hero, to pull off this success story that has become difficult to pull off. A Sturges film provides a very good example of a film that is significant particularly in its relation to films of the past. The character played by Eddie Bracken in "The Miracle of Morgan's Creek" and "Hail the Conquering Hero," bears a decided resemblance to an early Harry Langdon

or Buster Keaton character. Yet the role of this character has been essentially reversed. In the earlier films the Innocent either converted the wicked world to his own ways or with a fine disdain turned his back upon it. But in a Sturges film the Innocent gains the world, succeeds according to the wicked world's own terms.

There is one particular reason why it is good for the analyst, before he makes his selections for the historian, to look back at the films of the past. The analyst encounters many films he would be inclined to pass over quickly, as empty formulae, routine matters: They do not seem to spring from any live dream pressures. Most Westerns, today, for example, are of this kind. But the point is that one of these films may, in conjunction with an example of the same genre in the past, make a special point to the historian, may dramatize for him the death of the values by which the original had its life—prove lively just as a scene of death. In the early Western very often it was the founding of a new community that was at stake; the hero's role was to make it safe for the settlers. At the beginning of a modern Western the hero will frequently mouth the old familiar phrases about the birth of a bright new West, and a chance for the "decent folks," but as the film progresses, any such supposed stakes that have been set up can be seen to evaporate. In the middle of the film we are as likely as not to see the settlers featured as the chief opposition he has to deal with. Those originally characterised as the "decent folks" are now all of a sudden characterised as silly morons or as vicious rabble who set at a hazard our hero's life. The skin of our hero is, in fact, the only thing it is ever safe to assume will be at stake for any duration. It is significant that the hero is rarely, any longer, a member of the community in which he performs his marvels. He is perhaps a federal agent, or he is agent for an insurance company in some distant town (anxious to know why it is having to pay out so much); or it may be that he is simply Roy Rogers or Gene Autry, the movie star himself, arrived out of the great blue to

perform justice. It is because he no longer lives anywhere in particular, is no longer agent for the establishment of any clear Order of Things, that the modern Western hero is obliged to exert himself so strenuously to endear himself as a Personality. As nothing else is at stake, he must labor at least to make us fear lest He be destroyed, and thus prevented from returning to us, to go through his tricks for us, again, same time, next week.

The outlaw, the success boy, the Innocent, the Western hero—all these traditional heroes have undergone serious alteration. What has altered them is, quite clearly, that their relation to society has been altered. Heroes are born of a certain vision of society; if that vision is altered, they alter. The modern hero is a hero of wavering outlines. He has pulled down upon himself the heroes of the past; he assumes for a while the color of one of these and then another—but the colors blur. His nature is chameleon. He is no longer very sure what he is, because he is no longer very sure where he lives.

The few current films which seem able to integrate their material, to pull off any sort of style, are those which, with the detachment of cynicism, improvise upon this very sense of a world no longer sure in outline. These films are in a special sense worth the historian's notice.

Animated cartoons, although seldom works of art, yet demonstrate a freedom of invention that distinguishes them from most current films. And it is exactly with the theme of a disordered world that they play. Most describe a crescendo: They begin by exaggerating the laws of physics, distort them gradually more and more, then at a certain point abandon them altogether for anarchy. A cartoon today frequently ends in an explosion. Or it may end simply by interrupting itself. One animal has a knife raised above another animal, to dine on him. The victim squeaks impertinently: "You can't kill me now; this is the end of the film"—which it is. A cartoon today loves to spill one realm of reality into another. A character is watching himself perform upon a movie screen. Suddenly the image on the screen steps

out into the room; screen character and real-life character start chasing each other about; and which is which one can't say. Or the figures in a dream invade the waking life of the dreamer. In a manner that is related, cartoon characters frequently step outside the bounds of the play to announce to us slyly their unreality. "I'm Bugs Bunny of Warner Brothers Studios," this character will comment, in the middle of the action proper. And the stiff little figure of Superman, a character who has always taken himself very solemnly, has been succeeded now by Mighty Mouse, who never for a moment believes in his own existence, pulls off everything with a great big wink.

There is a brand of musical extravaganza now in fashion that functions slickly by this same technique of the wink. The magazine *TIME* has coined a good phrase for such films: They "kid their cheese-cake and have it too." "Road to Morocco" was such a film. "Up In Arms" is another. In "Up In Arms," for example, two soldiers stand on the upper deck of a transport, gazing down upon the lower deck where a bevy of beautiful nurses sunbathe in full technicolor. "There was never anything like this in the last war," says the first soldier. "There isn't anything like it in this war, either," the other soldier sighs. And in the films by Preston Sturges, who comes as close as anyone in Hollywood to establishing a style, we find that the whole game is to present us with a world, then to demolish it for us, and then to hand it back to us again intact, with a wicked leer.

Many of these films which aim merely at providing entertainment are at the farthest remove from either the literal presentation of events or the topical concern with them. Yet it is perhaps these films which will tell the historian most. For it is these—the films which, more than most, have found an orientation among the sensed realities of the time—which demonstrate most vividly the difficulties of belief today. We are, for the moment, not quite sure where we live.

BARBARA DEMING

The Museum of Modern Art

The Slave as His Own Interpreter

"No'm, I don't know nothin' 'bout Abe Lincoln 'ceptin' dey say he sot us free, an' I don't know nothin' 'bout dat neither."—Henry Cheatam, Marysville, Ala.

FROM interviews with former slaves, recorded by members of the Federal Writers' Project from 1936 to 1938, has emerged an unique collection of portraits and narratives, assembled by the Library of Congress Project (1939–1941) and bound and deposited in the Rare Books Division in 1941. These typescripts have now been microfilmed for the University of Chicago Press, which will shortly publish a selection of the narratives edited by the present writer. Thus a work begun ten years ago is at last being made generally available.

On June 14, 1934, Lawrence D. Reddick, head of the department of history in the Kentucky State Industrial College at Frankfort, submitted to Harry L. Hopkins, Director of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, a proposal for a project "to study the needs and collect the testimony of ex-slaves." The emphasis here was primarily historical: "Historians are unanimous in the conclusion that the picture of slavery and the Reconstruction will never be complete until we get the view as presented through the slave himself." From the relief standpoint the project justified itself by providing employment for Negro white-collar workers and serving as a basis for a program of relief for needy ex-slaves. The plan called for a staff of twelve Negro college graduates to conduct and process the interviews in the six states of the Ohio River Valley for a period of twelve months. In 1935 projects were set up and completed or termi-

nated in Kentucky and Indiana. Thereafter the work was continued and extended under the Works Progress Administration, with white as well as Negro interviewers covering not only the Ohio Valley but the entire South and several other states, such as Kansas and Missouri.

The first of the WPA slave narratives were recorded in Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, in 1936. Many of the early narratives were written in the third person and missed the directness and vividness of the original interviews. As the Washington editors recognized the literary as well as the historical possibilities of the material, they stressed the importance of recording the narrators' own words and encouraging the narrators to talk freely about themselves. On April 22, 1937, uniform instructions and a questionnaire for field workers were drawn up by John A. Lomax, National Advisor on Folklore and Folkways for the Federal Writers' Project from June 1936 to October 1937, and issued from Washington as "Supplementary Instructions No. 9-E to The American Guide Manual." Here the intent and method of the work were clearly indicated as follows:

The main purpose of these detailed and homely questions is to get the Negro interested in talking about the days of slavery. If he will talk freely, he should be encouraged to say what he pleases without reference to the question. It should be remembered that the Federal Writers' Project is not interested in taking sides on any question. The worker should not censor any material collected, regardless of its nature.

It will not be necessary, indeed, it will probably be a mistake, to ask every person all of the questions. Any incidents or facts he can recall should be written down as nearly as possible just as he says them, but do not use dialect spelling so complicated that it may confuse the reader.

A second visit, a few days after the first one, is important, so that the worker may gather all the worthwhile recollections that the first talk has aroused.

The questions covered the following subjects: Place and date of birth; parents' names and origin; brothers' and sisters' names; recollections or stories of grandparents; life in the quarters; kind of work; money earned, if any, and how, and what was purchased

with it; food and cooking; clothing; owner and his family; the big house; overseer or driver and poor white neighbors; size of plantation and number of slaves; daily schedule; punishments; slave sales and auctions; education; religion; runaway slaves; trouble between blacks and whites; patrollers; leisure-time activities; holidays, weddings, funerals, etc.; games, songs, stories, superstitions, etc.; health, medicine and folk cures; the Civil War; the Yankees; news of freedom; the first year of freedom; the Ku Klux and night riders; marriage and children; opinions concerning Negro and white leaders; attitude toward slavery and the church.

On July 30, 1937, additional instructions and suggestions were issued in a memorandum to State directors, based on "general conclusions reached after reading the mass of ex-slave material already submitted." Now greater discretion and tact in the selection and handling of informants were urged, with a view to utilizing the best informants and the best interviewers and to obtaining better "word-for-word" accounts and more information on the "lives of the individuals since they were freed." The danger of "leading questions" and suggestion and of asking "routine questions" to receive "routine answers" was also pointed out. Additional questions bore on the following points: What the slaves expected of freedom and what they got; attitude toward Reconstruction; the influence of secret organizations; experience in voting and holding office; life since 1864; attitude toward the younger generation and the present; slave uprisings; the Nat Turner Rebellion; songs of the period.

The problem of recording Negro speech was dealt with by Sterling A. Brown, Editor on Negro Affairs, on June 20, 1937 in "Notes by an editor on dialect usage in accounts by interviews with ex-slaves." Mr. Brown's suggestions on spelling and faults to be avoided were based on the recommendation that "truth to idiom be paramount and exact truth to pronunciation secondary."

Others associated with the direction and criticism of the work in the Washington office were Henry G. Alsberg, Director of the Federal Writers' Project; George Cronyn, Associate Director; Mary Lloyd, Editor; and B. A. Botkin, Folklore Editor from May 1938 to August 1939.

II

On August 31, 1939, when the Work Projects Administration passed from Federal to State control and the Federal Writers' Project became the Writers' Program, there was on file in the Washington office a large body of slave narratives, photographs of former slaves, interviews with the descendants of slaves and white informants regarding slavery, transcripts of laws, advertisements, records of sale, transfer and manumission of slaves, and related documents. As unpublished manuscripts of the Federal Writers' Project these records passed into the hands of the Library of Congress Project, when on October 17, 1939, the latter was set up by the Work Projects Administration in the District of Columbia, under the sponsorship of the Library of Congress, to "collect, check, edit, index, and otherwise prepare for use WPA records, Professional and Service Projects."

In preparing the narratives for deposit in the Library of Congress, the work of the Writers' Unit of the Library of Congress Project (under the direction of the present writer) consisted principally in selecting and arranging the manuscripts and photographs by states and alphabetically by informants within states, listing informants and illustrations and collating them in seventeen volumes and thirty-three parts as follows: Volume I, Alabama Narratives; Volume II (Parts 1-7), Arkansas Narratives; Volume III, Florida Narratives; Volume IV (Parts 1-4), Georgia Narratives; Volume V, Indiana Narratives; Volume VI, Kansas Narratives; Volume VII, Kentucky Narratives; Volume VIII, Maryland Narratives; Volume IX, Mississippi Narratives; Volume X, Missouri Narratives; Volume XI (Parts 1-2), North Carolina Narratives; Volume XII, Ohio Narratives; Volume

XIII, Oklahoma Narratives; Volume XIV (Parts 1-4), South Carolina Narratives; Volume XV, Tennessee Narratives; Volume XVI (Parts 1-4), Texas Narratives; Volume XVII, Virginia Narratives. The Writers' Unit also made digests and analyses of the narratives and partially completed an index and a glossary, all of which, together with a large number of additional narratives received from the state projects during the progress of the work, are on file in the WPA storage collection in the Library of Congress. Other narratives are still in the states, in specially designated depositories for Writers' Program manuscripts.

To date, the following WPA slave narratives are known to have been published: excerpts from the Virginia narratives, in *THE NEGRO IN VIRGINIA*, compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program in the State of Virginia, sponsored by the Hampton Institute (New York, Hastings House, 1940); Georgia narratives, in *DRUMS AND SHADOWS, SURVIVAL STUDIES AMONG THE GEORGIA COASTAL NEGROES*, Savannah Unit, Georgia Writers' Project (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1940); excerpts from three interviews, "Slaves," a composite article by Elizabeth Lomax, in *DIRECTION* (American Stuff issue, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1938, pp. 85-90).

III

The interviewing of ex-slaves was a development of the interview away from mere field data (such as were compiled to supplement library research in the preparation of guidebook copy) toward the life history. In addition to slave narratives, the Federal Writers' Project collected life histories of pioneers and various nationality groups as well as general life histories of the kind published in *THESE ARE OUR LIVES, AS TOLD BY THE PEOPLE AND WRITTEN BY MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT OF THE WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION IN NORTH CAROLINA, TENNESSEE, AND GEORGIA* (Chapel Hill, the University of North Carolina Press, 1939).

As the reminiscences of old people and as conscious or unconscious collaborations between interviewers and informants, the slave narratives must be regarded as a mixture of fact and fiction. In the hands of untrained or semi-trained interviewers, the narratives are often no better than the interviewer. The informants themselves are often guilty of flattery, lapses of memory, and exaggeration. Many of the narratives are damaged or weakened by internal contradictions and inconsistencies, obvious errors of historical fact, vague, confused, or ambiguous statements, and reliance on hearsay rather than first-hand experience. But as story-telling, case histories, and "unconscious evidence," the narratives are an important contribution to the literature of slave autobiography and to the history of the Negro in America.

For the historian and sociologist the narratives provide an invaluable source of knowledge of the lives and thoughts of thousands who once were slaves. Plantation life is pictured here in its multiplicity of folkways and folk notions, as seen by field hand, house servant and artisan, against the varied backgrounds of Southeast and Southwest, tidewater and inland, lowland and upland regions. No less important for the study of slavery as a social and economic institution are the many pithy anecdotes and powerful short stories, which illuminate the relationships of master, overseer and slave, Bourbon, poor white and mulatto. Consciously or unconsciously, the narrators reveal their attitudes toward slavery and freedom, influenced by their own recollections of kindness or cruelty, white "controls," regional variations and the fantasy and idealization that inevitably color the reminiscences of the old. Beneath all the surface contradictions and exaggerations is a hard, bitter core of reality and poetry, true to the spirit if not always to the letter of history.

In their very bulk and repetition the narratives are impressive as the product of large-scale collective research, made possible by a large-scale work project. In tone and treatment they display considerable variation, ranging from personal to social his-

tory, from rambling and at times senile recollections to clear-cut reconstruction of childhood, from mere generalization to rich circumstantial detail, from stilted self-consciousness to complete naturalness and spontaneity, from sheer triteness to highly imaginative and dramatic realism. The total effect is one of a collective novel or saga of slavery, in which the characters themselves are the narrators and reveal themselves as natural story-tellers, drawing, for both their material and their expression, upon group experience and traditional symbols, upon the folklore of slavery. Rarely, if ever, has another group been allowed to tell its own story in its own way, as fully and as freely as these former slaves. The result is folk history—history written from the people's point of view, in which the people become their own historians—and a kind of folk literature.

IV

The following selections have been chosen to illustrate types of story-telling contained in the narratives—anecdotes, folk stories, and striking incidents in the lives of slaves. As examples of oral narration on a semiliterate level, they are remarkable for many qualities of folk speech and style, but particularly for their salty irony and mother wit, which give edge and point to these folk expressions of how it felt to be a slave.

GUINEA JIM

As told by Josh Horn, 90, to Ruby Pickens Tartt at Livingston, Ala. Volume I, *Alabama Narratives*, pp. 205–209.

De fust thing I 'members 'bout slave'y time, I wa'n't nothing but a boy, 'bout fifteen I reckon, dat's what Marse Johnnie Horn say. Us belong to Marse Ike Horn, Marse Johnnie's pa, right here on dis place whar us is now, but dis here didn't belong to me den, dis here was all Marse Ike's place. Marse Ike's gin got outer fix and we couldn't git it fixed. Colonel Lee had two gins and

one of 'em was jes below old Turner house. Recolleck a big old hickory tree? Well, dar's whar it was.

I was plenty big 'nough to drive de mules to de gin. Set on de lever and drive 'em, jes lak a 'lasses mill, so dat night Marse Ike told us he want everybody go wid him to Colonel Lee's gin nex' morning, and didn't want nobody to git out and go ahead of him. Dat held up de ginning; made us not to go to de ginhouse tell sunup.

Us got de mules and jes waited. 'Twixt daylight and sunup, us all standing dar at de gate and we heared a little fine horn up de road. Us didn't know what it meant coming to de house. And bimeby Mr. Beesley, what live not fur from Marse Ike, he rode up and had five dogs, five nigger dogs, what dey call 'em, and soon as he come, Marse Ike's hoss was saddled up and Marse Ike and him rode off down de road and de dogs wid 'em, 'head of us. Us followed 'long behind 'em, stay close as dey 'low us, to see what dey was up to. When dey got close to de ginhouse, ginhouse right 'side de road, dey stop us and Mr. Beesley told Old Brown to go ahead. Old Brown was de lead dog and had a bell on him and dey was fasten togedder wid a rod, jes lak steers. He turn 'em loose, and den he popped de whip and hollered at Old Brown and told him "nigger." Old Brown hollered lak he hit. He want to go. And dey was a fence on bofe sides made it a lane, so he put Old Brown over de fence on de ginhouse side, and told Brown to "go ahead." He went ahead and run all aroun' de ginhouse and dey let him in de gin-room and he grabbed in de cottonseed in a hole.

Den somebody holler "Guinea Jim."

I looks and I didn't see him. Didn't nobody see him, but dey know dat's whar he been hiding. Mr. Beesley told Old Brown he jes fooling him, and Old Brown holler ag'in, lak he killing him, and Mr. Beesley say: "Go git dat nigger," and Old Brown started 'way from dar lak he hadn't been hunting nothing, but he went aroun' and aroun' dat gin and Mr. Beesley

told him he hatter do better dan dat or he'd kill him, 'cause he hadn't come dar for nothing.

Brown made a circle aroun' dat gin 'way down to de fence dat time, and he was so fat he couldn't git through de fence. You know what sort of fence, a rail fence it was. Den he stop and bark for help. Now I seed dis wid my own eyes. Dey put Brown on top de fence and he jump 'way out in de road, didn't stay on de fence. He jump and run up and down in de road, and couldn't find no scent of Jim. You knows how dey used to make dem rail fences?

Well, Brown come back dar, and dis is de trufe, so help me God. He bark, look lak, for dem to lift him back up on de fence, and bless God, if dat dog didn't walk dat rail fence lak he walking a log, as fur as from here to dat gate yonder, and track Jim jes lak he was on de groun'. He fell off once, and dey had to put him back, and he run his track right on to whar Jim jumped off de fence, way out in de road. Old Brown run right across de road to de other fence and treed ag'in on t'other side de road toward Konkabia. Old Brown walk de fence on dat side de road a good piece, jes lak he done on de other side, and dem other dogs, he hadn't never turned dem loose.

When Brown he jump off dat fence, he jump jes as fur as he kin on de fiel' side, lak he gwine ketch Jim lak a gnat or somepin and he never stop barking no more, jes lak he jumping a rabbit. Den, Mr. Beesley turn dem other dogs loose dat he hadn't never turned loose, 'ca'se he say old Brown done got de thing straight. And he had it straight. Dem dogs run dat track right on down to Konkabia and crossed it to de Blacksher side. Dey was a big old straw field dar den and dey cross it and come on through dat field, all dem dogs barkin' jes lak dey looking at Jim. 'Reckly, dey come up on Jim running wid a pine bresh tied behind him to drag his scent away, but it didn't bother old Brown.

When dem dogs 'gin to push him, Jim drap de bresh and run back toward Konkabia. Now on Konkabia dar used to

be beavers worse den on Sucarnatchee now. Dey was a big beaver dam 'twixt de bridge and de Hale place, and Jim run to dat beaver dam. You know when beavers build dey dam, dey cut down trees and let 'em fall in de creek, and pull in trash and bresh same as folks, to dam de water up dar tell it's knee-deep. De dogs seen him, Old Brown looking at him, jes 'fore he jump in 'bove de dam right 'mongst de trash and things dey'd drug in dar. Brown seed him and he jump in right behind him. Jim jes dive down under de raff, and let he nose stick outer de water. Every once in a while Jim he put he head down under, he holding to a pole down dar, and once Mr. Beesley seed him, he jes let him stay dar.

Brown would swim 'bout 'mongst de bresh, back'erds and for'erds, and terreckly Mr. Beesley told old Brown, "Go git him." Den all de men got poles and dug 'bout in de raff hunting him. Dey knowed he was dar, and Marse Ike had a pole gigger aroun' trying to find him too. Den he told Mr. Beesley to give him de hatchet and let him fix de pole. He sharpen de pole right sharp, den Marse Ike start to gig around' wid de pole, and he kinder laugh to hisse'f, 'ca'se he knowed he done found Jim. 'Bout dat time Jim poke he head up and say: "Dis here me," and everybody holler. Den he ax 'em please, for God's sake, don't let dem dogs git him. Dey told him come on out.

You see, Jim belonged to Miss Mary Lee, Mr. John Lee's ma, and his pa was kilt in de war, so Mr. Beesley was looking out for her. Well, dey took Jim outer dar, and Mr. Beesley whipped him a little and told him: "Jim, you put up a pretty good fight and I's gwine to give you a start for a run wid de dogs."

Jim took out towards Miss Mary's, and Mr. Beesley helt Old Brown as long as he could. Dey caught Jim and bit him right smart. You see dey had to let 'em bite him a little to satisfy de dogs. Jim could have made it, 'cept he was all hot and wore out.

THE RED-BONE HOUND

As told by Heywood Ford to Susie R. O'Brien at Uniontown, Ala. Volume I, Alabama Narratives, pp. 123-125.

White folks, . . . I'se gonna tell you a story 'bout a mean oberseer an' what happened to him durin' de slabery days. It all commenced when a nigger named Jake Williams got a whuppin' for stayin' out atter de time on his pass done gib out. All de niggers on de place hated de oberseer wuss dan pizen, 'caze he was so mean an' useta try to think up things to whup us for.

One mornin' de slaves was lined up ready to eat dere breakfas' an' Jake Williams was a pettin' his old red-bone houn'. 'Bout dat time de oberseer come up an' seed Jake a-petting' his houn' an' he say: "Nigger, you ain't got time to be a-foolin' 'long dat dog. Now make him git." Jake tried to make de dog go home, but de dog didn't want to leave Jake. Den de oberseer pick up a rock an' slam de dog in de back. De dog he den went a-howlin' off.

Dat night Jake he come to my cabin an' he say to me: "Heywood, I is gonna run away to a free state. I ain't a-gonna put up wid dis treatment no longer. I can't stand much mo'." I gibs him my han' an' I say: "Jake, I hopes you gits dere. Maybe I'll see you ag'in sometime."

"Heywood," he says, "I wish you'd look atter my houn', Belle. Feed her an' keep her de bes' you kin. She a mighty good possum an' coon dog. I hates to part wid her, but I knows dat you is de bes' pusson I could leave her wid." An' wid dat Jake slip out de do' an' I seed him a-walkin' toward de swamp down de long furrows of cawn.

It didn't take dat oberseer long to fin' out dat Jake done run away, an', when he did, he got out de blood houn's an' started off atter him. It warn't long afore Jake heered dem houn's a-howlin' in de distance. Jake he was too tired to go any further. He circled 'roun' an' doubled on his tracks so as to confuse de houn's an' den he clumb a tree. 'Twarn't long afore he seed de

light of de oberseer comin' th'ough de woods an' de dogs was a-gittin' closer an' closer. Finally dey smelled de tree dat Jake was in an' dey started barkin' 'roun' it. De oberseer lif' his lighted pine knot in de air so's he could see Jake. He say: "Nigger, come on down fum dere. You done wasted 'nuff of our time." But Jake, he neber move nor make a sound an' all de time de dogs keppa howlin' an' de oberseer keppa swearin'. "Come on down," he say ag'in; "iffen you don't I'se comin' up an' knock you ouden de tree wid a stick." Jake still he neber moved an' de oberseer den began to climb de tree. When he got where he could almos' reach Jake he swung dat stick an' it come down on Jake's leg an' hurt him tur'ble. Jake, he raised his foot an' kicked de oberseer raght in de mouf, an' dat white man went a-tumblin' to de groun'. When he hit de earth dem houn's pounced on him. Jake he den lowered hisself to de bottom limbs so's he could see what had happened. He saw de dogs a-tearin' at de man an' he holla: "Hol' 'im, Belle! Hol' 'im, gal!" De leader of dat pack of houn's, white folks, warn't no blood houn'. She was a plain old red-bone possum an' coon dog, an' de res' done jus' lak she done, tearin' at de oberseer's th'oat. All de while, Jake he a-hollerin' f'um de tree fer dem dogs to git 'im. 'Twarn't long afore dem dogs to' dat man all to pieces. He died raght under dat maple tree dat he run Jake up. Jake he an' dat coon houn' struck off through de woods. De res' of de pack come home.

I seed Jake atter us niggers was freed. Dat's how come I knowed all about it. It musta been six years atter dey killed de oberseer. It was in Kentucky dat I run across Jake. He was a-sittin' on some steps of a nigger cabin. A houn' dog was a-sittin' at his side. I tells him how glad I is to see him, an' den I look at de dog. "Dat ain't Belle," I says. "Naw," Jake answers, "dis her puppy." Den he tol' me de whole story. I always did want to know what happen to 'em.



BEN HORRY
Age 85
Georgetown County, S. C.



FANNIE MOORE
Age 88
Asheville, N. C.



RICHARD TOLER

*Age about 100
Cincinnati, Ohio*

LEONARD ALLEN

As told by Fanny Cannady, 79, to Travis Jordan, Durham County, N. C.
Volume XI, North Carolina Narratives, Part 1, pp. 160-162.

I was skeered of Marse Jordan, an' all of de grown niggahs was too 'cept Leonard an' Burrus Allen. Dem niggahs wasn' skeered of nothin'. If de debil hese'f had come an' shook er stick at dem dey'd hit him back. Leonard was er big black buck niggah; he was de bigges' niggah I ever seed, an' Burrus was near 'bout as big, an' dey 'spised Marse Jordan wuss'n pizen.

I was sort of skeered of Mis' Polly too. When Marse Jordan wasn' 'roun' she was sweet an' kind, but when he was 'roun', she was er yes suh, yes suh woman. Everythin' he tole her to do she done. He made her slap Mammy one time kaze when she passed his coffee she spilled some in de saucer. Mis' Sally hit Mammy easy, but Marse Jordan say: "Hit her, Sally, hit de black bitch like she 'zerve to be hit." Den Mis' Sally draw back her hand an' hit Mammy in de face, pow, den she went back to her place at de table an' play like she eatin' her breakfas'. Den when Marse Jordan leave she come in de kitchen an' put her arms 'roun' Mammy an' cry, an' Mammy pat her on de back an' she cry too. I loved Mis' Sally when Marse Jordan wasn' 'roun'.

Marse Jordan's two sons went to de war; dey went all dressed up in dey fightin' clothes. Young Marse Jordan was jus' like Mis' Sally but Marse Gregory was like Marse Jordan, even to de bully way he walk. Young Marse Jordan never come back from de war, but 'twould take more den er bullet to kill Marse Gregory; he too mean to die anyhow kaze de debil didn' want him an' de Lawd wouldn' have him.

One day Marse Gregory come 'home on er furlo'. He think he look pretty wid his sword clankin' an' his boots shinin'. He was er colonel, lootenent er somethin'. He was struttin' 'roun' de yard showin' off, when Leonard Allen say under his breath,

"Look at dat God damn sojer. He fightin' to keep us niggahs from bein' free."

'Bout dat time Marse Jordan come up. He look at Leonard an' say: "What yo' mumblin' 'bout?"

Dat big Leonard wasn't skeered. He say, "I say, 'Look at dat God damn sojer. He fightin' to keep us niggahs from bein' free.'"

Marse Jordan's face begun to swell. It turned so red dat de blood near 'bout bust out. He turned to pappy an' tole him to go an' bring him his shot gun. When pappy come back Mis' Sally come wid him. De tears was streamin' down her face. She run up to Marse Jordan an' caught his arm. Ole Marse flung her off an' took de gun from pappy. He leveled it on Leonard an' tole him to pull his shirt open. Leonard opened his shirt an' stood dare big as er black giant sneerin' at Ole Marse.

Den Mis' Sally run up again an' stood 'tween dat gun an' Leonard.

Ole Marse yell to pappy an' tole him to take dat woman out of de way, but nobody ain't moved to touch Mis' Sally, an' she didn' move neither, she jus' stood dere facin' Ole Marse. Den Ole Marse let down de gun. He reached over an' slapped Mis' Sally down, den picked up de gun an' shot er hole in Leonard's ches' big as yo' fis'. Den he took up Mis' Sally an' toled her in de house. But I was so skeered dat I run an' hid in de stable loft, an' even wid my eyes shut I could see Leonard layin' on de groun' wid dat bloody hole in his ches' an' dat sneer on his black mouf.

"MAYBE MR. LINCOLN AIN'T SO BAD"

As told by Mary Wallace Bowe, 81, to Travis Jordan at Durham, N. C. Volume XI, North Carolina Narratives, Part 1, pp. 150-151.

In dem days dey was peddlers gwine 'roun' de country sellin' things. Dey toled big packs on dey backs filled wid everythin'

from needles an' thimbles to bed spreads an' fryin' pans. One day a peddler stopped at Mis' Fanny's house. He was de ugliest man I ever seed. He was tall an' bony wid black whiskers an' black bushy hair an' curious eyes dat set way back in his head. Dey was dark an' look like a dog's eyes after you done hit him. He set down on de po'ch an' opened his pack, an' it was so hot an' he looked so tired, dat Mis' Fanny give him er cool drink of milk dat done been settin' in de spring house. All de time Mis' Fanny was lookin' at de things in de pack an' buyin', de man kept up a runnin' talk. He ask her how many niggers dey had; how many men dey had fightin' on de 'Federate side, an' what was she gwine do if de niggers was set free. Den he ask her if she knowed Mistah Abraham Lincoln.

'Bout dat time Mis' Virginia come to de door an' heard what he said. She blaze up like a lightwood fire an' told dat peddler dat dey didn't want to know nothin' 'bout Mistah Lincoln; dat dey knowed too much already, an' dat his name wasn't 'lowed called in her house. Den she say he wasn't nothin' but a black debil messin' in other folks' business, an' dat she'd shoot him on sight if she had half a chance.

De man laughed. "Maybe Mr. Lincoln ain't so bad," he told her. Den he packed his pack an' went off down de road, an' Mis' Virginia watched him till he went out of sight 'roun' de bend.

Two or three weeks later Mis' Fanny got a letter. De letter was from dat peddler. He tole her dat he was Abraham Lincoln hese'f; dat he was peddlin' over de country as a spy, an' he thanked her for de res' on her shady po'ch an' de cool glass of milk she give him.

When dat letter come Mis' Virginia got so hoppin' mad dat she took all de stuff Mis' Fanny done bought from Mistah Lincoln an' made us niggers burn it on de ash pile. Den she made pappy rake up de ashes an' th'ow dem in de creek.

CATCHING JOHN

As told by Jake Green, 85, to Ruby Pickens Tartt at Livingston, Ala. Volume I, Alabama Narratives, pp. 169-170.

He had one [nigger], do' call him John, an' hit come a traveler an' stayed all night. Ole Massa p'inted out John, an' said, "He ain't never tole me a lie in his life." De traveler bet Massa a hund'ed dollars 'g'inst fo' bits he'd ketch John in a lie 'fo' he lef'. Next mawnin' at de table de mice was pretty bad, so de traveler caught one by de tail an' put him inside a kiver-lid dish what was settin' dere on de table, an' he tole Ole Massa tell John he could eat sumpin out of ev'y dish atter dey got th'oo but dat kiver-lid one, an' not to take kiver offen hit. An' John said, "Nossuh, I won't." But John jes nachully had to see what was in dat dish, so he raise de lid, an' out hopped de mouse. Den hyar come Old Massa an' axed John iffen he done what he tole him not to do, an' John 'nied hit. Den de traveler look in de dish an' de mouse wa'n't dere, an' he said, "See dere, John been lyin' to you all de time, you jes ain't knowed hit." An' I reckon he right, 'caze us had to lie.

"I COME FROM ABOVE, WHAR ALL IS LOVE"

As told by Mary Ella Grandberry, about 90, to Levi D. Shelby, Jr., at Sheffield, Ala. Volume I, Alabama Narratives, p. 161.

De slaves would git tired of de way dey was treated an' try to run away to de No'th. I had a cousin to run away one time. Him an' anudder fellow had got 'way up in Virginny 'fo' Massa Jim foun' out whar dey was. Soon as Massa Jim foun' de whar'bouts of George he went atter him. When Massa Jim gits to George an' 'em, George pertended lak he didn' know Massa Jim. Massa Jim as' him, "George, don't you know me?" George he say, "I neber seed you 'fo' in my life." Den dey as' George an' 'em whar did they come from. George an' dis yuther fellow look up in de sky an' say, "I come from above,

whar all is love." Iffen dey had owned dey knowed Massa Jim he could have brung 'em back home.

THE CONJURE THAT DIDN'T WORK

As told by Jake Green, 85, to Ruby Pickens Tartt at Livingston, Ala. Volume I, Alabama Narratives, p. 169.

Dey was pretty good to us, but ole Mr. Buck Brasefiel', what had a plantation 'jinin' us'n, was so mean to his'n dat 'twan't nothin' for 'em to run away. One nigger, Rich Parker, runned off one time an' whilst he gone he seed a hoodoo man, so when he got back Mr. Brasefiel' tuck sick an' stayed sick two or three weeks. Some of de darkies tole him, "Rich been to de hoodoo doctor." So Mr. Brasefiel' got up outten dat bed an' come a-yellin' in de fiel', "You thought you had ole Buck, but by God he rose agin." Dem niggers was so skeered, dey squatted in de field' jes lak partridges, an' some of 'em whispered, "I wish to God he had a-died."

FOOLING MASTER

As told by Jake Green, 85, to Ruby Pickens Tartt at Livingston, Ala. Volume I, Alabama Narratives, p. 168.

Mr. Whitehead owned Dirtin Ferry down to Belmont, an' dey had a darky dere named Dick what claim sick all de time. So de Marsa man said, "Dick, dammit, go to de house. I can't get no work outten you." So Dick went on. He was a fiddler, so dey just tuck his vittuls to him for seven years. Den one day, Old Massa say to de overseer man, "Let's slip up dere an' see what Dick doin'." So dey did, an' dere sot Dick, fat as he could be, a-playin' de fiddle an' a-singin',

Fool my Massa seben years.

Gwiner fool him seben mo'.

Hey diddle, de diddle, de diddle, de do.

'Bout dat time Ole Massa poked his head in de do', said, "Damn iffen you will. Come on outten dere, you black rascal,

an' go to work." An' I ain't never hyard of Dick complainin' no mo'.

JOINING THE CHURCH

As told by Sarah Douglas, 82 [?], to Pernella M. Anderson at El Dorado, Ark. Volume II, Arkansas Narratives, Part 2, p. 190.

We went to the white folks' church, so we sit in the back on the floor. They allowed us to join their church whenever one got ready to join or felt that the Lord had forgiven them of their sins. We told our determination; this is what we said: "I feel that the Lord have forgiven me for my sins. I have prayed and I feel that I am a better girl. I belong to master so and so and I am so old." The white preacher would then ask our miss and master what they thought about it and if they could see any change. They would get up and say: "I notice she don't steal and I notice she don't lie as much and I notice she works better." Then they let us join. We served our mistress and master in slavery time and not God.

A BARREL OF MOLASSES

As told by Mack Brantley, 80, to Irene Robertson at Brinkley, Ark. Volume II, Arkansas Narratives, Part 1, p. 243.

Green, my brother, took me to Miss Mary Ann Roscoe when mama died. She was my ma's owner. I stayed there till Green died. A whole lot of boys was standing around and bet Green he couldn't tote that barrel of molasses a certain piece. They helped it up and was to help him put it down and give him five dollars. That was late in the ebenin'. He let the barrel down and a ball as big as a goose egg of blood come out of his mouth. The next day he died. Master got Dr. Blevins quick as he could ride there. He was mad as he could be. Dr. Blevins said it weighed eight hundred pounds. It was a hogshead of molasses. Green was much of a man. He was a giant. Dr.

Blevins said they had killed a good man. Green was good and so strong. I never could forget it. Green was my standby.

TURN THE TRAY AROUND

As told by William M. Adams, 93, at Fort Worth, Tex. Volume XVI, Texas Narratives, Part 1, p. 11.

Jus' fore de war, a white preacher he come to us slaves and says: "Do you wan' to keep you homes whar you git all to eat, and raise your chillen, or do you wan' to be free to roam roun' without a home, like de wil' animals? If you wan' to keep you homes you better pray for de South to win. All dey wan's to pray for de South to win, raise the hand." We all raised our hands 'cause we was skeered not to, but we sho didn' wan' de South to win.

Dat night all de slaves had a meetin' down in de hollow. Ole Uncle Mack, he gits up and says: "One time over in Virginny dere was two ole niggers, Uncle Bob and Uncle Tom. Dey was mad at one 'nuther and one day dey decided to have a dinner and bury de hatchet. So dey sat down, and when Uncle Bob wasn't lookin' Uncle Tom put some poison in Uncle Bob's food, but he saw it and when Uncle Tom wasn't lookin', Uncle Bob he turned de tray roun' on Uncle Tom, and he gits de poison food." Uncle Mack, he says: "Dat's what we slaves is gwine do, jus' turn de tray roun' and pray for de North to win."

METHODIST DOGS AND BAPTIST DOGS

As told by Siney Bonner, about 90, to W. F. Jordan at Birmingham, Ala. Volume I, Alabama Narratives, p. 40.

Massa John had a big fine bird dog. She was a mammy dog and one day she foun' six puppies out in de harness house. Dey was mos' all girl puppies so massa gwine drown 'em. I axed him to give 'em to me and purty soon de missus sent me to de pos'office, so I put de puppies in a basket and took 'em wid me.

Dr. Lyles come by whar I was settin' and he say, "Want to sell dem pups, Siney?" I tell him, "Uh-huh." Den he say, "What 'nomination is dey?" I tell him, "Dey's Methodis' dogs." He didn' say no mo'. 'Bout a week atter dat ole missus sent me to de pos'office again, so I took my basket of puppies. Sho nuff, 'long come Dr. Lyles and he say, "Siney, see you still ain't sold dem pups." I say, "Naw-suh." Den he axed me ag'in what 'nomination dey b'long to. I tole him dey was Baptis' dogs. He say, "How come? You tole me las' week dem was Methodis' pups." Ha-ha! Bress God! look like he had me. But I say, "Yas-suh, but you see, Doctah, dey got dere eyes open since den." He laff and go on down to his newspaper office.

SHE RODE OFF ON A COW

As told by Ellen Cragin, about 80, to Samuel S. Taylor at Little Rock, Ark. Volume II, Arkansas Narratives, Part 2, pp. 42-43.

She didn't work in the field. She worked at a loom. She worked so long and so often that once she went to sleep at the loom. Her master's boy saw her and told his mother. His mother told him to take a whip and wear her out. He took a stick and went out to beat her awake. He beat my mother till she woke up. When she woke up, she took a pole out of the loom and beat him nearly to death with it. He hollered, "Don't beat me no more, and I won't let 'em whip you."

She said, "I'm goin' to kill you. These black titties sucked you, and then you come out here to beat me." And when she left him, he wasn't able to walk.

And that was the last I seen of her until after freedom. She went out and got on an old cow that she used to milk—Dolly, she called it. She rode away from the plantation, because she knew they would kill her if she stayed.

MISS MARY'S FEATHER BED

As told by Aunt Cheney Cross, about 90, to Annie D. Dean at Evergreen, Ala. Volume I, Alabama Narratives, pp. 99-100.

. . . My mistis tuck me down to de spring back of de house. Down dere it was a holler tree stump, taller'n you is. She tell me to clam' up to de top of dat holler tree, den she han' me a big heavy bundle, all wropped up an' tied tight. Hit sho was heavy! Den she say: "Drap it in, Cheney." I didn't know den what she's up to, but dat was de silver an' jew'lry she was hidin'.

. . . I'se settin' dere in de loom room, an' Mr. Thad Watts' li'l gal, Louise, she's standing at the winder. She say: "O-o-oh! Nannie! Jes look down yonder!" "Baby, what is dat?" I says. "Dem's de Yankees comin'!" "Gawd help us!" I says, an' befo' I kin ketch my bref, de place is kivvered. You couldn't stir 'em up wid a stick. Feets sounded lak mutterin' thunder. Dem bennits stick up lak dey jes settin' on de mouf of dey guns. Dey swords hangin' on dey sides singin' a chune whilst dey walk. A chicken better not pass by. Iffen he do, off come his head!

When dey pass on by me, dey put' nigh shuck me outa my skin. "Where's de mens?" dey say an' shake me up. "Where's de arms?" Dey shake me twell my eye balls loosen up. "Where's de silver?" Lawd! Was my teefs drappin' out? Dey didn't give me time to ketch my bref. All de time, Miss Mary jes look 'em in de eye an' say nothin'!

Dey tuck dem enfield rifles, half as long as dat door, an' bus' in de smoke house winder. Dey jack me up off'n my feet an' drag me up de ladder an' say: "Git dat meat out." I kep' on th'owin' out Miss Mary's hams an' sawsidges, twell dey holler "stop." I come backin' down dat ladder lak a squirrel, an' I ain't stop backin' twell I retch Miss Mary.

Yes, Lawd! Dem Yankees loaded up a waggin full of meat an' tuck de whole barrel of 'lasses! Takin' dat 'lasses kilt us chillun! Our mainest 'musement was makin' 'lasses candy.

Den us cake walk 'roun' it. Now dat was all gone. Look lak dem sojers had to sharpen dey swords on ever'thing in sight. De big crepe mullen bush by de parlor winder was bloomin' so pink an' pretty, an' dey jes stood dere an' whack off dem blooms lak folkses' heads drappin' on de groun'.

I seed de sarjunt when he run his bennit clean th'ew Miss Mary's bestest feather bed an' rip it slam open! Wid dat, a win' blowed up an' tuck dem feathers ever' whichaway for Sunday. You couldn't see where yo's at. De sarjunt, he jes th'owed his head back, an' laugh fit to kill hisse'f. Den fust thing next, he done suck a feather down his win'pipe. Lawd, honey, dat white man sho struggled. Dem sojers th'owed water in his face. Dey shuck'm an' beat'm an' roll'm over, an' all de time he's gettin' limberer an' bluerer. Den dey jack'm up by his feets an' stan'm on his haid. Den dey pump'm up an' down. Den dey shuck'm twell he spit. Den he come to.

Dey didn't cût no mo' matrusses. An' dey didn't cut nothin' much up in de parlor, 'cause dat's where de lieutenant an' de sarjunt slep'. But when dey lef' de next day, de whole place was strewed wid mutilation.

KU KLUX AND CARPETBAGGERS

As told by Henry Garry, about 75, to W. F. Jordan at Birmingham, Ala. Volume I, Alabama Narratives, pp. 139-141.

Seems lak dar warn't no trouble 'mongst de whites an' blacks twell atter de wah. Some white mens come down from de Norf' an' mess up wid de niggers. I was a mighty little shaver, but I 'members one night atter supper, my daddy and mammy an' us chilluns was settin' under a big tree by our cabin in de quarters when all at wunst, lickety split, heah come gallopin' down de road what look lak a whole army of ghos'es. Mus' hab been 'bout a hundert, an' dey was men ridin' hosses wid de men an' hosses bofe robed in white.

Cap'n, dem mens look lak dey ten feet high an' dey hosses big as elephan's. Dey didn't bodder nobody at de qua'ters, but de leader of the crowd ride right in de front gate an' up to de big dug well back of our cabin an' holler to my daddy, "Come heah, nigguh!" Ho-oh! 'co'se we skeered. Yassuh, look lak our time done come.

My daddy went ober to whar he settin' on his hoss at de well. Den he say, "Nigguh, git a bucket an' draw me some cool water." Daddy got a bucket, fill it up an' han' it to him. Cap'n, would you b'lieve it? Dat man jes lif' dat bucket to his mouf' an' neber stop twell it empty. Did he hab 'nough? He jes smack his mouf an' call for mo'. Jes lak dat, he didn' stop twell he drunk three buckets full. Den he jes wipe his mouf an' say, "Lawdy, dat sho was good. Hit was de fust drink of water I'se had sence I was killed at de battle of Shiloh."¹

Was we good? Cap'n, from den on dar wasn't a nigger dare stick his head out de do' fo' a week. But nex' day we fin' out dey was Ku Kluxes an' dey foun' de body of a white man hangin' to a pos' oak tree ober by Gran' Prairie. His name was Billings an' he come from de Norf. He been ober 'roun' Livingston messin' up de niggers tellin' 'em dey had been promised forty acres and a mule, an' dey ought to go 'head an' take 'em from de white folks.

But dat carpetbagger couldn' do nothin' wid ole Slick, dough. Slick? Yassah, dat what ebe'ybody call him. He hang 'roun' de co'te house at Livingston an' listen to de lawyers argufy. He try to 'member all de big words dem lawyers use. When dat carpetbagger come to town dat nigger Slick was carryin' his bag to de hotel an' when dey pass de mineral well in de street, de man axed Slick, "What dat water good for? Hab it been tested?" Slick say, "Oh, yassah, dat water been scanalysed by de bes' fenologists in de country, an' dey say hit's three

¹ This familiar Ku Klux Klan trick consisted in pouring the water undetected into a leather bag or other receptacle concealed under the coat.

quarters carbolic acid gas, an' de yuther seben eights is hydrophobia. . . ."

Git rid of de carpetbaggers? Oh, yassah, dey vote 'em out. Well sah, tell you how dey done dat. De 'publicans done paid all de niggers' poll tax, an' gib 'em a receipt so dey could vote same as de whites. Dey made up to 'lect de officers at de co'te house all niggers an' den sen' yuther ones to Montgomery to make de laws. Same day de 'lection come off dar was a circus in Livingston an' de Demmycrats 'suaded de boss man of de circus to let all Sumter County niggers in de show by showin' dere poll tax receipts. Yassah, when de show was ober de 'lection was ober too, an' nobody was 'lected 'cep'in' white Demmycrats.

'Co'se dat made Sumter County a mighty onhealthy place for carpetbaggers an' uppity niggers.

RENFROE'S TREE

As told by Henry Garry, about 75, to W. F. Jordan at Birmingham, Ala. Volume I, Alabama Narratives, p. 142.

I neber hyeard many ghos' yarns 'cep' 'bout de chinyberry tree whar dey hung Mistah Steve Renfroe. He was 'lected High Sheriff dat time dey got all de niggers to go to de circus 'stead of goin' to de 'lection. He a fine lookin' man an' ride a big white hoss an' ebe'ybody lak him a lot 'cep' de carpetbaggers an' boddersome niggers. No matter whar, if he meet one of 'em, he look 'em squar' in de eye for a minute, den 'bout all he say would be, "Get to hell outten heah!" An' man, iffen dey could fly dat would be too slow trabelin' for 'em, gettin' outten de county. But atter while he got in trouble 'bout money matters. Dey say he got color blind, couldn' tell his money from de county's. So dey 'rest him an' put him in jail, but he bust right out an' run off. Atter while he sneak back an' 'caze his Ku Klux frien's wouldn' help him outten de trouble when he got back in jail, he give 'em away an' tell what dere

name was. One night a gang took him outten de Livingston jail an' go 'bout a mile outten town an' hang him to a chinyberry tree. I'se hyeard iffen you go to dat tree today an' kinda tap on hit an' say, "Renfroe, Renfroe; what did you do?" de tree say right back at you, "Nothin'."

SHE PRAYED FOR FREEDOM

As told by Nancy Anderson, 66, to Irene Robertson at West Memphis, Ark. Volume II, Arkansas Narratives, Part 1, pp. 51-52.

Aunt Jane Peterson, old friend of mine, come to visit me nearly every year after she got so old. She told me things took place in slavery times. She was in Virginia till after freedom. She had two girls and a boy with a white daddy. She told me all about how that come. She said no chance to run off or ever get off, you had to stay and take what come. She never got to marry till after freedom. Then she had three more black children by her husband. She said she was the cook. Old master say, "Jane, go to the lot and get the eggs." She was scared to go and scared not to go. He'd beat her out there, put her head between the slip gap where they let the hogs into the pasture from the lot down back of the barn. She say, "Old missis whip me. This ain't right." He'd laugh. Said she bore three of his children in a room in the same house his family lived in. She lived in the same house. She had a room so as she could build fires and cook breakfast by four o'clock sometimes, she said. She was so glad freedom come on and soon as she heard it she took her children and was gone, she said. She had no use for him. She was scared to death of him. She learned to pray and prayed for freedom. She died in Cold Water, Mississippi. She was so glad freedom come on before her children come on old enough to sell. Part white children sold for more than black children. They used them for house girls.

THE SON WHO MARRIED HIS MOTHER

As told by Cora L. Horton, about 55, to Samuel S. Taylor at Little Rock, Ark. Volume II, Arkansas Narratives, Part 3, p. 323.

I have heard my grandmother talk about slaves being put on the block and sold and then meeting way years after and not knowing one another. She told me about a woman who was separated from her son. One day, years after slavery, when she had married again and had a family, she and her husband got to talking about old slave times. She told him about how she had been sold away from her baby son when he was a little thing. She told him how he had a certain scar on his arm. Her husband had a similar scar and he got to talking about slave times, and they found out that they were mother and son. He left her and went on his way sad because he didn't want to stay on living as husband with his mother. I don't think those people were held accountable for that, do you?

INDIANS DON'T TELL

As told by Maggie Broyles, about 80, to Irene Robertson at Forrest City, Ark. Volume II, Arkansas Narratives, Part 1, pp. 326-327.

Mother worked with a white woman. Mother was full-blood Indian herself. The woman's husband got to dealing with his daughter. She had three babies in all. They said they put them up in the ceiling, up in a loft. This old man got mad with Bob Young and burnt his gin. Mother seen him slipping around. They ask her but she wouldn't tell on him, for she didn't see him set it on fire. They measured the tracks. He got scared mother would tell on him. One night a colored man on the place come over. Her husband was gone somewhere and hadn't got home. She was cooking supper. They heard somebody but thought it was a pig come around. Hogs run out all time. The step was a big limestone rock. She opened the

door and put the hot lid of the skillet on it to cool. Stood it up sideways. Then they heard a noise at that door. It was pegged. So she went along with the cooking. It wasn't late. He found a crack at the side of the stick and dirt chimney, put the muzzle of the gun in there and shot her through her heart. The man flew. She struggled to the edge of the bed and fell. The children was asleep and I was afraid to move. The moon come up. I couldn't get her on the bed. I put a pillow under her head and a quilt over her, but I didn't think she was dead. The baby cried in the night. I was so scared I put the 8-months-old baby down under there to nurse. It nursed. She was dead then, I think now. When 4 o'clock come it was daylight. The little brother said, "I know what's the matter, our mama's dead." I went up to Mr. Bob Young's. He brought the coroners. I was so young I was afraid they was going to take us to jail. I asked little brother what they said they was going to do. He said, "They are going to bury mama in a heap [deep] hole." They set out after her husband and chased him clear off. They thought he shot her by him not coming home that night and her cooking supper for him.

This white man left and went to Texas. His wife said the best woman in Decatur had been killed. They put him on the gallows for killing his daughter's babies, three of them, and putting them in the loft. He told how he killed mother. He had murdered four. He was afraid mother would tell about him. She knowed so much. She didn't tell. Indians don't tell. She was with his girl when the first baby was born, but she thought it died and she thought the girl come home visiting, so his wife said she had told her to keep her from telling. It was a bad disgrace. His wife was a good, humble, kind woman.

B. A. BOTKIN

Chief

Archive of American Folk Song

The War and the National Muniments

On December 7, 1941, the armed forces of Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, and the United States was, at last, at war. Though there was reason for hope, there was no reason for certainty, that the capital of this country would be spared the destruction already brought to the capitals of several of the European belligerents. Therefore on December 26 certain priceless and irreplaceable possessions of the Library of Congress were removed to Fort Knox, Kentucky, for storage in the vault of the Bullion Depository of the United States Mint.

Among those priceless and irreplaceable possessions of the Library were the three basic documents of our national life, the Articles of Confederation, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States—each in the original and engrossed and signed copy. But there were four other items also invaluable though lacking the fundamental symbolic and historical significance for our country, the Lincoln Cathedral copy of the Magna Carta, deposited by the British Government in the Library for safekeeping after having been exhibited at the New York World's Fair; the original autograph copy of Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address; the first and second autograph drafts of his Gettysburg Address; and the Saint Blasius-Saint Paul copy, in three volumes, printed on vellum, of the Gutenberg Bible. •

The removal of such possessions—and the return, for now they again repose without threat in the National Collection—was not a business to be lightly undertaken. As early as April



Library officials return the original engrossed copy of the Declaration of Independence to its place of display in the Shrine



The Marine Corps color guard, posted on the occasion of the return to public exhibition in the Library of Congress of the originals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States

30, 1941, the Librarian of Congress had written to Mr. Morgenthau, the Secretary of the Treasury, "to enquire whether space might perhaps be found at Fort Knox for these materials in the unlikely event that it becomes necessary to remove them from Washington." This original request, however, involved not only the items which were to find their way eventually to Fort Knox, but also a number of others, such as the Washington papers, requiring the total space of some thousands of cubic feet. But the prospect of gold shipments to the vault forbade the storage there of any considerable mass of materials, and on May 5, the Secretary of the Treasury replied to the Librarian that ten cubic feet might be reserved "for storage of such of the more important papers as you might designate." In July, when it had been determined that some 40,000 cubic feet would be required for the storage of all unique and irreplaceable materials of the Library, the original ten cubic feet at Fort Knox was raised to 60.3 cubic feet to accommodate "the priceless heart of the country's greatest collection of books and manuscripts."

There was little doubt that the Depository at Fort Knox, situated far inland (some thirty miles from Louisville) and with a subterranean vault beneath a massive structure of steel and concrete, was invulnerable even to modern bombing attack. But account had to be taken of a more insidious enemy than bombs. In the subterranean level of the vault some dampness had been noted and, from time to time, certain tiny insects. The ravages of insects could be prevented by proper packing, but humidity and changes in temperature would encourage the growth of mold—which, in silence and darkness, has destroyed more precious parchments than bombs or flame. The very packing which would serve to protect against insects would, under certain conditions, aggravate the hazard from mold, for the growth of mold is dependent upon the humidity, and—given an identical amount of moisture—the humidity is dependent upon the temperature. Thus, the absolute amount of moisture, which would be necessary to keep a parchment leaf flexible and in

good condition at one temperature, would be enough to foster mold if the temperature should fall only a few degrees.

In the face of these considerations the officials of the Library undertook a careful study of the range of temperature and of humidity in the vault itself and in the general locality. (And now attached to one of the more esoteric documents dealing with this phase of the transfer—"Humidity 56.6, temperature 78.6, humidity 58.8, temperature 77.5, etc."—is the wistful memorandum, in red pencil, bespeaking the layman's confusion: "We shd get best possible advice on meaning of these figures . . .") The result of the preliminary study was, by and large, favorable to the project, but after the deposit of the treasures, in their specially designed, hermetically sealed containers, all possible measures of precaution were continued by the use of an air conditioning unit, calcium chloride dryers, a sling-psychrometer and recording hygrometers. Frequent inspections were made. Among the records of that period we find reports such as this made by the Director of Acquisitions Department, on October 30, 1943:

The documents in storage at Fort Knox were last inspected on June 4, 1943. The conditions under which they were then repacked were unfavorable. In spite of an air conditioning unit and of calcium chloride dryers, atmospheric conditions in the room at the time of the repacking were dry bulb 80° F., relative humidity 54%. While the documents repacked under these conditions should be considered safe as long as summer temperatures prevailed, it was apparent that as soon as the temperature of the vault should drop appreciably there would be a dangerous concentration of moisture within the packages . . . I arrived at the Bullion Depository at 8:45 A. M., October 29, 1943. Neither Mr. Van Horn nor Mr. Evans had yet arrived, but I gained admittance . . . The weather outside was warm but dry; and I found, with pleasure, that the repository heating system was going, and that the packing room conditions were good (dry bulb 75.5° F., relative humidity 41%) . . .

By October 1943, Mr. Clapp had, it appears, become an intimate of sling-psychrometers and recording hygro-thermographs.

There had been, however, not only mechanical but legal problems to be investigated before the actual transfer of the documents could be effected. Did the Librarian of Congress have complete control over these documents?

On December 26, 1941, the office of the Solicitor General issued a memorandum which reviewed the history of the custody of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. As early as March 22, 1777, the Continental Congress had created the office of Secretary of Congress, the incumbent of which should have custody of all papers and documents of the Congress. On September 28, 1787, the original engrossed Constitution passed into the custody of the Secretary, but two years later, after the ratification of the Constitution, the Secretary of the newly organized Department of State was given "custody and charge of the said seal of the United States, and also of all books, records and papers, remaining in the office of the late Secretary of the United States in Congress Assembled." Thomas Jefferson, as Secretary of State, accepted custody of the documents on February 14, 1790, and under his charge the Constitution was removed, with other documents, from New York to Philadelphia, its place of origin. When, in 1800, the seat of government was again transferred, now to Washington, the documents were again removed.

But the most dramatic removal during the period in which the Secretary of State was custodian, occurred in 1814, when the British forces occupied Washington. The Declaration of Independence and, presumably, the Constitution, along with other archives, were carried to an unoccupied grist-mill belonging to Edgar Patterson, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, two miles above Georgetown. On August 24, all the papers were removed to Leesburg, thirty-five miles further away, and stored in an empty house, the key to which was entrusted to the Reverend Mr. Littlejohn, one of the Collectors of Internal Revenue. There the papers remained until the British fleet had sailed out of the Chesapeake.

After this event, and until the removal to Fort Knox, both documents were held in Washington, except for the year 1876 (May) to 1877 (July) when the Declaration was taken to Independence Hall, in Philadelphia. This removal was providential for it occurred just before the fireproof building of the Patent Office, to which the Declaration had been transferred, burned down. Thereafter, and until the month of September 1921, both documents remained in the custody of the Department of State.

On February 25, 1903, Congress authorized any executive department or bureau "to turn over to the Librarian of Congress . . . any books, maps, or other material . . . no longer needed for its use, and in the judgment of the Librarian of Congress appropriate to the uses of the Library of Congress." But the Department of State did not, apparently, feel that the Constitution and the Declaration were "no longer needed for its use." At least it did not offer to convey them until President Harding issued, on September 29, 1921, Executive Order No. 3554. The Order concludes:

This Order is issued at the request of the Secretary of State, who has no suitable place for the exhibition of these muniments and whose building is believed not to be as safe a depository for them as the Library of Congress, and for the additional reason that it is desired to satisfy the laudable wish of patriotic Americans to have an opportunity to see the fundamental documents upon which rest their Independence and their government.

So the transfer of the Declaration and the Constitution to the Library of Congress was effected.

In the light of this history the Attorney General ruled, on December 26, 1941, that the Librarian of Congress had complete control of the documents in his hands and that he could "without further authority from the Congress or the President take such action as he deems necessary for the proper protection and preservation of these documents."

Preparations for the removal had already begun. On the twenty-third, in the presence of the Librarian and Messrs.

Evans, Clapp, Mearns, Kremer, Dumaine and Boykin, all of them members of the staff of the Library, the Declaration and the Constitution were taken from the Shrine in the Library, and placed between sheets of manila paper which had been previously tested for non-acidity. The two documents were then wrapped in a container stiffened at top and bottom with millboard and secured by scotch tape. This commonplace-looking bundle was then inserted in a specially designed bronze container, which had been scrupulously cleaned to remove harmful elements, and had been heated for some six hours to a temperature of about 90° F. to drive off any moisture. (The metal was still warm to the touch when the bundle was introduced.) Empty space was then filled with sheets of millboard, and the top of the container was screwed tight over a cork gasket and locked with padlocks on each side.

By this time it was 7:30 in the evening. It had been a damp, raw, doleful day, with some rain and a heavy overcast. Dark had long since settled down.

On the day after Christmas, under the constant supervision of armed guards, the task was resumed. The bronze container was removed to the carpenter shop, where it was sealed with wire and a lead seal, the seal bearing in block letters the initials *L C*, and packed in rock wool in a heavy metal-bound box measuring 40" x 36", which, after being loaded, weighed approximately 150 pounds. Later in the same day, the Magna Carta, the Gutenberg Bible, and the manuscripts of Lincoln's Second Inaugural and the Gettysburg Address were carried to the Rare Book Room, where, in an atmosphere of 72° F. and a relative humidity of 50%, they were wrapped and packed in three carefully made oak cases, each case lined with heavy copper, with a copper lid to be soldered in place (with non-acid flux for the soldering) and a heavy oak lid to be screwed in place. The Gutenberg Bible was packed in one case, the Magna Carta, and Lincoln's Second Inaugural and the drafts of the Gettysburg Address in another. But one other docu-

ment—a document which marks the first effort to establish a stable national government here and which commemorates an important phase in our education as a nation—remained to be prepared for the journey. The Articles of Confederation had, for some months previous, been kept in the Thatcher Room of the Rare Book Room. Now this parchment scroll, in its leather container, was wrapped in tested manila paper and packed in a similar oak and copper case.

The task of packing was completed by five o'clock. Immediately the cases were loaded into an armed and escorted truck of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and driven to the Union Station. There the cases were transferred to Compartment B, car A-1 (Pullman sleeper "Eastlake"), of the "National Limited" of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. The compartments adjoining and interconnecting on each side were occupied by Messrs. Shannon and Moriarty of the U. S. Secret Service, and by Mr. Clapp, Director of the Acquisitions Department of the Library. The Secret Service agents were armed. In fact, the entire responsibility for the protection of the documents in their travels was borne by the Secret Service of the Treasury Department.

The "National Limited" drew out of the station at 6:30.

In Louisville, at 10:30 the next morning, the shipment was met by a formidable convoy, a scout troop of the Thirteenth Armored Division stationed at Fort Knox and four more Secret Service agents, Messrs. Andrews, Ryan, Watts and Cassidy. Preceded by the scout car and followed by the car carrying the agents and Mr. Clapp, the army truck with the shipment was driven to the Bullion Depository at the Fort.

At the Depository the shipment was received by Mr. R. J. Van Horne, Chief Clerk of the Depository, and Mr. Evans, Assistant Chief Clerk. It had been arranged to place the shipment in compartment 24 of the vault, a compartment 16' x 9' x 9' situated in the outer tier on the ground level. Here the wrapping papers of the oak cases were torn off, the mark-

ings and seals verified, the cases placed in the compartment. The temperature was read as 73° F., the humidity estimated as 90 to 95%. Under these conditions of humidity the hermetic sealing became of instant importance. The key to the compartment was placed in its case in the vault, and the key to this case was removed to a safe in the office of the Chief Clerk. At 12:07 p.m. the vault was closed. Mr. Van Horne gave a receipt for the four cases. The transfer had been successfully completed.

But though safe in the vault from enemy attack, the precious documents were necessarily subjected to periodic inspections for signs of mold. Though no new marks of deterioration were observed during this period of deposit at Fort Knox, it was decided by the Library authorities to perform on the Declaration certain repairs which had been planned long before the transfer. As early as January 9, 1940, Mr. J. E. Mullaney, Captain of the Guard, had noticed that the Declaration was buckling in its mounting and was in need of repair. By the middle of February the cracking of the parchment in the upper right hand corner was serious, and appeared to be progressing. Islands of discoloration had also appeared. It was clear that the need for attention was urgent, but the problem of method was a delicate one and called for the closest study. As a matter of fact, it developed in the course of this study that an earlier attempt at preserving the declaration had perhaps been responsible, in part at least, for the present condition: The tensions set up by glueing the parchment to its frame, and the type of glue used, had caused buckling and cracking and discoloration.

By the fall of 1941, agreement had been reached among the experts as to the proper line of treatment, and arrangements were made for Dr. George L. Stout (the Library's Consultant in the care of manuscripts and parchments) and Mrs. Evelyn Erlich, both of the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, to come to the Library, in early January 1942, to perform the necessary repairs. The transfer of the Declaration to Fort

Knox caused the postponement until late spring, but on May 13, in a north room prepared for the purpose, an inspection of the document and a careful analysis of its condition were made by Dr. Stout and Mrs. Erlich. The next day the parchment was detached from its mount of heavy pulp board and green velvet. This process was a delicate one, for portions of the mount itself had to be sliced away to free the document. (In this process two names were discovered written in pencil at the lower left-hand corner of the mount—R. T. Anderson and Robt. L. Bier—the names of two members of the Library staff, both now dead, who, presumably, had mounted the Declaration twenty years before.)

After it had been cleaned of adherent glue and paste, the document was placed, obverse side uppermost, on white blotting paper, and all cracks drawn together and held in place with small pieces of scotch tape. A large sheet of glass was then placed over the whole, and weighted down with bags of sand. It had rained during the day and the rise in humidity made the parchment easily workable.

On May 15 the actual repair work took place. All cracks in the document were luted, on the reverse side, with paper fibres moistened with rice paste. It had been planned to repeat this process on the obverse, but when the document was turned it was happily discovered that the luting had been effected so well that the second operation was unnecessary. Two holes (one above the *m* in "America" and the other above the *S* in "States" in the heading) were patched with new vellum. The document was placed under weighted glass and, as usual, returned to the vault for the night. Meanwhile, the all-rag board destined to be used for mounting had been placed to dry over two 75-watt light bulbs; it was left in this situation overnight.

The next day, after a series of photographs of the repaired document had been made by a member of the United States Signal Corps, the Declaration was put into its new mount.

This was a folding mount of all-rag board. The document was secured to it with wide and loosely fitting hinges at several places along the upper margins and with two expanding or pleated hinges at the two lower corners. The Declaration was then repacked in the bronze case and returned to the vault.

During this period the Declaration underwent another and more significant adventure. Belatedly, the Government of the United States had decided to erect a memorial to the man whose pen had done as much as Washington's sword to determine our national history. It was only fitting that the Declaration of Independence should be placed on view at the opening of the Jefferson Memorial. On April 9, 1943, under the supervision of an officer of the Library, the Declaration and the Constitution were removed from their bronze container. The Constitution was now placed in a special waterproof and airtight steel container, while the Declaration was replaced in the bronze container, which was packed in rock wool in the large packing case prepared for the purpose. The next day, April 10, the case containing the Declaration was placed in a scout car and under strong guard composed of seven Military Police in a station wagon and four Secret Service agents in a car, was taken to the Union Station at Louisville. In a Pullman bedroom, under the protection of two Secret Service agents, and the Library's representative, the Declaration was taken to Washington.

At the Library, where it had been transported from the station in an armed truck, the Declaration was removed from its frame and remounted between sheets of glass in a heavy steel exhibition case which had been designed by Mr. William C. Bond for the purpose. The case was then placed in the main exhibition hall of the Library, under special guard. Already assembled there in the hall, as a context for the Declaration itself, were all the documents which had been involved in its textual history, Jefferson's desk (borrowed from the Smithsonian Institution), and Jefferson's rough draft of the Declara-

tion. At three o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, April 12, the first in the series of events associated with the opening of the Jefferson Memorial began by the mounting of a Marine guard at the case containing the document. The Librarian of Congress then ascended a podium which had been erected in the hall and read certain passages from the Declaration.

The next morning, at nine o'clock a detail of Marines removed the Declaration to the Jefferson Memorial, where it was placed at the feet of the statue of its author.

There, for a week, from 9 a. m. to 9 p. m. every day, the Declaration was on exhibit. At night the exhibit case was transferred to a side room where one sentry stood guard, quarters in the Memorial itself having been provided for the whole detachment assigned to the duty. On April 19, the Marine guard returned the Declaration to the Library, where it was removed from the exhibit case, remounted in its frame, photographed, and repacked in the bronze container in which it had been stored at Fort Knox. Two days later, with all appropriate protection, it was carried back to Fort Knox and restored to its vault.

By September 1944 it was decided that all danger to the Library of Congress from enemy attack had passed. Plans were initiated for the return of the vast mass of precious holdings—a total of 4,789 packing cases, the equivalent of twenty-six freight car loads. On September 12, the Librarian of Congress had written to Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross, Director, Bureau of the Mint, to make arrangements for the removal from Fort Knox of the most precious of all the holdings of the Library. Exactly a week later, Mr. Clapp gave the Chief Clerk of the Bullion Depository his receipt for the Declaration, the Constitution, the Magna Carta, the Saint Blasius-Saint Paul copy of the Gutenberg Bible, the Articles of Confederation, the Gettysburg Address, the Second Inaugural Address and “1 Hygro-Thermograph, Serial No. 1861” and “1 Psychrometer.”

At 11:30 a. m., Sunday, October 1, two hours and a half earlier than usual, the Library opened its doors. A color guard of the Marine Corps took post at the entrance. The United States Marine Band, under Captain Willam F. Santelmann, assembled across the street, just before the Capitol, then marched to the Library and up the steps to the Shrine on the second floor. At noon, a Marine Guard of Honor was posted both at the Shrine and at the special case in which the Magna Carta lay. The Librarian then briefly charged the guard with its duties. He concluded his remarks thus:

Our Nation differs from all others in this—that it was not created by geographic or by racial accident but by the free choice of the human spirit. It was conceived and founded by men who chose to live under one form of government rather than under another, and in a conception of human life in which they themselves believed, rather than in a conception imposed by other men or inherited from the past.

The sheets of vellum and the leaves of ancient paper in these cases which you guard are the very sheets and leaves on which that form of government and that conception of human life were brought to being. Nothing that men have ever made surpasses them.

It is appropriate that these fragile objects which bear so great a weight of meaning to our people, and indeed to all the peoples of the world, should be entrusted to the guard of men who have themselves seen active service in a war against the enemies of everything this Constitution and this Declaration stand for.

We leave them to your care with confidence.

ROBERT PENN WARREN
Consultant in Poetry in English
Editor, The Quarterly Journal of
Current Acquisitions

The John Cleves Short Collection of Papers of the Short, Harrison, Symmes, and Allied Families

THE Library of Congress has acquired by purchase from Mr. Charles W. Short a collection of personal papers numbering approximately 13,000 pieces. This constitutes one of the most important accessions of recent years, and greatly augments the Short papers bought from the family more than thirty years ago. The present manuscripts cover a wide range of social and economic history, a large area of the United States and a period of many decades. The period begins with the last years of the eighteenth century and extends throughout the first half of the nineteenth. The geographical area involved is principally the Ohio Valley. The social and economic factors are the familiar ones of land speculation, finance, transportation, agriculture, as these affected the interests of a group of individuals highly articulate, much given to letter-writing and to record-keeping, and closely knit by family ties. The collection contains also papers which lie outside this general description. There are letters written from France in the days of the Revolution, documents which have to do with land speculation in New York, travel letters from naval officers, and ledgers and accounts of a man of wealth in Philadelphia. These groups, however, are secondary to the central core of the material, that which represents the crossing of the Alleghany frontier by men of enterprise in business and finance who followed westward their predecessors, the pioneers who had cleared the way with the axe and the rifle.

John Cleves Symmes (1742-1814) left Long Island to make his home in the province of New Jersey, where he played a prominent part in the military, legislative and judicial activities of the Revolutionary period. Later, as we shall see, he removed to the Miami country north of the Ohio River, establishing a residence at North Bend. He was the father of two daughters, Maria and Anna. Of these the elder, Maria, married Peyton Short (1761-1825) of Surry County, Virginia, who, after serving as a major in the Revolutionary War, moved to Kentucky in 1788, and settled in Woodford County near Lexington. Peyton Short was the younger brother of William Short, diplomat, and protégé of Thomas Jefferson. Like William, Peyton had been a student at William and Mary.

The younger daughter of Judge Symmes, Anna, became the wife of William Henry Harrison (1773-1841), of Virginia, who, preferring a military career to the study of medicine, began his army service in the Northwest Territory. The son of Benjamin Harrison, the Signer, he was to become the ninth President of the United States and to be the grandfather of the twenty-third. Stationed, in his youthful days, at Fort Washington in the Miami region, he and his wife were neighbors of Judge Symmes and were not at a great distance from the Shorts in Kentucky.

The two sons of Peyton Short and Maria Symmes were John Cleves Short (1792-1864) and Charles Wilkins Short (1794-1863). The family ties were strengthened when John Cleves Short married Betsy, daughter of his Aunt Anna and William Henry Harrison.

After study at Princeton John Cleves Short left his father's Kentucky estate to take up life in the rising city of Cincinnati. He built a mansion at North Bend which he called Short Hill. His legal training and talent were not devoted to public life: His affairs and those of his kinsmen kept him busy. He served as one of the executors not only for his father's estate but for those of his uncle, William Short, his father-in-law, William Henry Harrison, and his grandfather, John Cleves Symmes.

Apparently he was by nature a record-keeper as well as a letter-writer. We may, therefore, think of him as the self-appointed archivist of his family. To him we owe this collection. Of the younger brother, Charles Wilkins Short, who was a physician and a botanist, more will be said hereafter.

In contrast with the general uniformity which marked the development of the typical public land states carved out of the public domain and administered under the statutes and regulations of the federal government, the beginnings of statehood in the region north and south of the Ohio River were marked by many variations and conflicts. After the United States in Congress Assembled had enacted the famous land ordinance of 1785, the region in eastern Ohio, then called the Seven Ranges, began its life with the surveys and sales carried out under the authority of Congress. To this Wheeling was the gateway. But long before this the Kentucky country was filling with settlers whose laws were enacted and administered by the state of Virginia and not by Congress. To the north of the Ohio River, what is now the State of Ohio developed not merely from the federal Seven Ranges but from several focal points with differing practices as to the acquisition of lands. Thus in the Ohio country were lands reserved by Virginia with Chillicothe as a center. On the Muskingum the Ohio Associates, with their Massachusetts background and their Masonic connections, founded Marietta. Somewhat later, under the authority of Connecticut at Cleveland, which, with a slightly different spelling, bears the name of Moses Cleaveland, appeared the Western Reserve. Out of the speculations which Joel Barlow had engendered in France, known as the Scioto Association, ultimately was established Gallipolis, opposite the mouth of the great Kanawha.

Not like any of these was the purchase which John Cleves Symmes made of Congress. This consisted of the land which, beginning between the mouths of the Great and Little Miami rivers, stretched from the Ohio River northward into the Indian

Country. The focus of this was Cincinnati, at first somewhat weighted down with the pseudo-classical appellation of Losantiville. Into the management of this purchase of his, undertaken at the very time when a new trans-montane society was coming into being, Judge Symmes, who made his residence chiefly at North Bend, carried something of that proprietary concept which had marked his adopted state of New Jersey as it did the parts of Virginia and North Carolina which had belonged to the Fairfaxes and the Granvilles, respectively. The story of Judges Symmes' endeavors is, therefore, the more interesting in that it illustrates a conflict of the old with the new in a state in which that conflict took many forms and profoundly affected the people. It is this combination of land speculation and commonwealth building which forms the basic topic, from the standpoint of economic history, in the correspondence of Judge Symmes and of his kinsmen, the Shorts, the Harrisons and many others whose letters and papers constitute this collection.

Papers of John Cleves Symmes

The Division of Manuscripts has previously held almost no papers of Judge Symmes. In this new collection are found over sixty of his letters and notes together with two or three hundred deeds, contracts and agreements usually written by him and frequently bearing his signature. Though fragmentary, these business papers are the more valuable because of the destruction by fire in 1811 of many of the Judge's records.

The well known book of Beverly W. Bond, Jr., *The Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes, Founder of the Miami Purchase* (1926), based on material found in Cincinnati and Madison, contains the letters exchanged between Symmes and his partner, Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey, a series of first importance for the history of the Cincinnati country. The papers in the Library's new holdings are of a different sort, copies of business papers preserved *within* the family.

One series of letters stands out from the papers of economic significance. Judge Symmes became deeply attached to his grandson, John Cleves Short, and from the time the latter was a little boy to the years when Symmes entered upon his last illness, the judge wrote to his grandson, and Short preserved this series of affectionate letters, which reveal a gentle side in one whose external life was one of conflict.

Papers of Peyton Short

The papers of Peyton Short, Symmes' son-in-law and partner, are of much greater volume. There are, first, a couple of letters written him while he was a student at William and Mary College by his brother William. There is his list of the contents of the trunks he took with him on his migration to Kentucky. These records of his youthful days are succeeded by the business papers of the young man of affairs, those of his speculation in Symmes' enterprise and those of other ventures in Ohio and Kentucky. The records of his distillery extending from 1791 to 1807 reveal a rapidly growing business, part of which was with the United States Army.

There are a couple of letter books, the journal of a tour to Mobile in 1809, and about two thousand legal papers—plats, maps, bills, letters and accounts—relating to Short's own activities and to those of his kinsmen. Although not a person of great importance in the political field, he received letters from men better known to the student of American history, Robert Morris, Oliver Wolcott, Henry Knox, Richard Peters, Thomas Hart, St. George Tucker, John Rhea, to mention only a few. There are over a hundred letters from Benjamin van Cleve, the principal figure in the founding of Dayton. The Skipwith family and David Ross of Richmond are each represented by forty-five items, as is William Lyttle.

Papers of John Cleves Short

The largest single group of the papers in the Short family collection is that of John Cleves Short. Of his own education and the curriculum at Princeton there is a reminder in a letter which he composed in Latin and addressed to his younger brother, Charles W. Short. As a whole, his papers are made up of correspondence, legal papers, bills, receipts, land transactions, diaries, account books, note books, plats and agreements, with a few pieces of printed matter. Of his own letters there are approximately 1,000, of which more than 350 are addressed to his uncle, William Short, and at least 600 to his brother, Dr. Charles W. Short. The in-coming letters number over 2,500, dated 1809-1864. These include many from William Short, Charles W. Short, R. M. Corwine, Dr. William S. Ridgeley, William A. Dudley, W. B. Dudley, Judge Samuel M. Hart, the Harrison family, and others. Of Short's diaries, account books, and memoranda there are forty volumes, full of economic data. Short's correspondence relates to his land holdings, his financial investments, his legal work, the educational facilities of the East and West, his literary ambitions, his large library, his domestic pursuits, the generosity of William Short, the financial status of his own family and of the Harrisons, political issues in state and national elections, his observations on horticulture, botany and agriculture, and include his notes on the culture of silk worms, the growth of grapes, apples and other products.

Papers of Charles Wilkins Short

Another segment of the papers are letters, numbering around 350, of Dr. Charles Wilkins Short to his brother, John Cleves Short. These were written while Dr. Short was combining the practice of medicine and botanical research in Lexington, while he was professor of materia medica at Transylvania and at the Medical Institute at Louisville and after his retirement to his estate "Hayfield" near Louisville. His letters, containing

descriptions of botanical specimens richly supplement his published works on materia medica and botany. In his own herbarium, over 15,000 specimens, now preserved at the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia, were housed. Aside from his interest in scientific research his letters reflect his versatility in literary pursuits, and his interest in his library, his business affairs, his home, his family and the Presbyterian Church, of which he was a devout member.

Papers of William Henry Harrison and His Family

The Library of Congress holdings of the papers of William Henry Harrison began with modest purchases which assembled ten letters, 1803-1834, before the publication of the *Handbook* in 1918.

Through the good offices of Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, who had begun in 1925 to build up the splendid collection of her husband's papers, there were received from Mr. John Scott Harrison of Helena, Montana, and from Mr. William Henry Harrison, of Washington, D. C., a larger body of the papers of President William Henry Harrison. Mr. John Scott Harrison later permitted the photostating of twenty more letters of his great-grandfather. The Library's William Henry Harrison collection has been bound in eight volumes.

In the new collection the manuscripts of William Henry Harrison, which range from 1796 to 1835, include over fifty letters, written principally to his son-in-law, John Cleves Short. There are a few letters of political interest, but the bulk of the collection pertains to domestic and financial matters. Closely associated with Harrison's own letters is a large group pertaining to the settlement of his estate.

In the Harrisoniana may be included several letters of Mrs. William Henry Harrison in the years 1809-1847. With the next generation the Harrison letters expand. More than 150 letters addressed to John Cleves Short were written by John Scott Harrison, Member of Congress 1853-1857, who was the father

of President Benjamin Harrison. A younger brother, William Henry Harrison, also is represented.

Papers of William Short

One of the earliest collections to be acquired after the first organization of the Division of Manuscripts—indeed number four in the accession records of Mr. Fitzpatrick—was a small group of letters of William Short to Fulwar Skipwith. It was not until 1910 that the Library bought the William Short papers, which when bound filled fifty-two volumes. This collection covered the years of Short's diplomatic services, 1785–1795, and continued on to the end of his life. In 1939 a further augmentation came in the very valuable collection of autograph letters from Thomas Jefferson and others which were deposited by Miss Violet Henry and Miss Lucy C. Richardson, of Kentucky, with permission to make photostatic copies. Later Miss Henry, with great generosity, converted the deposit into a gift.

Many letters of William Short are found in the papers of Thomas Jefferson. There are also papers of William Short in other depositories. His diplomatic dispatches are in the archives of the Department of State in the National Archives. In 1930, Miss Mary Churchill, of Louisville, Kentucky, presented to the library of William and Mary College a large collection of letters of Thomas Jefferson to William Short. These run from 1784 to 1826. Some of these have been printed.

While the new collection, which forms the subject of this article, is that of the Short, Harrison, Symmes and allied families, nevertheless it does contain an impressive quantity of papers of William Short. This segment considered separately is divisible into the following groups:

Papers of William Short pertaining to Thomas Jefferson
and Virginia

Papers of William Short related to his diplomatic career in
Europe

Papers relating to William Short's life after his return to America

It is well known that the Massachusetts Historical Society has both a lengthy manuscript catalog of Mr. Jefferson's library written in his own hand, and also a catalog in a briefer form. One of the most interesting "finds" in the Short-Harrison-Symmes collection appears in another list of Mr. Jefferson's books, written in Short's hand. A critical study of this must await further examination, but it is plain that this copy is not identical with either of the two catalogs in the Massachusetts Historical Society, but represents another form or draft.

There are several miscellaneous papers relating to Mr. Jefferson or to Virginia. Perhaps one of the more interesting of these is a receipted bill for Piranesi prints ordered in Italy by William Short.

Belonging to the time of Short's diplomatic career are statements or letters which relate either to the finances of the United States or to those of Short himself. Of special interest are letters of Joseph de Broeta, C. M. S. de Wolfe, and Van Staphorst & Hubbard.

Upon Short's life in America new light is thrown by a very large body of papers which evidently passed with his estate to John Cleves Short. First, there is Short's correspondence with his family in the West, and particularly with his nephews to whom he seems to have been ever generous with both his counsel and his wealth. With them he discusses all sorts of topics; but the prevailing subject is that of business. On the side of business, also, is to be counted his extended correspondence with the persons who were his agents in the handling of large quantities of lands in New York State in which he had invested heavily. These papers are matched by many of the same sort in the later volumes of the old collection. Very important for the student of economic history are his personal ledgers and account books. Equal interest attaches to the reports of his own investments

and holdings, periodically submitted to him by experts whom he employed. Of letters written to Short, apart from the family connections, an entertaining group is that of his correspondence with the two brothers Godon, both of whom were naval officers and one of whom became a rear-admiral. They wrote to Short from many of their stations.

In bringing the summary to a close I should like to stress what seems to me to constitute perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of the collection taken as a whole and in its relation to the older body of papers of William Short. American historical scholarship has given much consideration, in recent years, to the migration of capital. We have learned how such a firm as that of the Barings linked the credit of the United States with that of England and secured from the Bank of England and investors generally the capital needed by the United States Government, the various states and individuals or corporations of private enterprise. We have studied also the way in which the West borrowed capital from the East for the promotion of canals and turnpikes and the building of railroads. The most interesting result of even a partial examination of this great body of papers is the revelation that within this family connection we can trace activity along all the lines suggested. William Short began the building of his fortune while he was in Europe; he brought back to this country a knowledge of business methods and preserved the approaches to capital of which he had learned abroad. From Philadelphia his wealth was invested not only in the Mississippi Valley but in New York State, not only in lands but in stocks and bonds of many kinds. His agents and his kinsmen channeled—sometimes not too wisely—into the needs of their own states and communities capital invested by William Short. Thus in this family connection appears an illustration of the currents of migratory capital not to be overlooked by economic historians.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

Chief, Division of Manuscripts

The Publishing Activities of the Deutsche Informationsstelle

The War Agencies Collection of the Library of Congress includes among other things an extensive group of propaganda pamphlets issued by the Deutsche Informationsstelle (German Office of Information). These pamphlets, which are now being added to the regular collections, document an amazing story of publishing activity. Parts of this story are already well known. This additional material enables us to make it more nearly complete.

The Deutsche Informationsstelle issued thousands of pamphlets in a great many languages. Besides "official" outlets and publishing offices which it set up in many countries, it utilized a great many "independent" publishers in order to disguise the origin of its publications. A great many publications appeared without any imprint whatsoever and it was only through a comparison of texts, illustrations and authors that the true origin and nature of the materials could be established. In many instances, not only was the name of the true publisher not disclosed, but the names of the authors were also often changed in order to establish a presumption of authenticity or reliability. Thus, in a notorious case, *Englands Gewaltpolitik am Nil*, by Paul Schmitz-Kairo (Berlin, Deutsche Informationsstelle, 1940), became DEMOCRACY ON THE NILE; HOW BRITAIN HAS "PROTECTED" EGYPT, compiled from British Sources by Sayid Halassie, D. D. (Scotch Plains, New Jersey, Flanders Hall, 1940).

The bibliographer or the student of propaganda who examines the material soon learns that certain authors, certain pub-

lishers, certain imprints and certain illustrations and texts are suspect, but there is no fixed pattern of variation among these elements. Any text may appear in a variety of forms. For example, in 1940 the Deutsche Informationsstelle issued *England und die Buren*, by Stefan Schroeder, as number 6 of its series "England ohne Maske." The same text was published in Berlin in English but it was also published as *Inglaterra y la protección de las pequeñas naciones* in Madrid without any indication of its German origin; and in this country it turned up as *THE HAPLESS BOERS*, translated from the Dutch of Eugen Vroom, published by Flanders Hall at Scotch Plains, New Jersey. Although the complete story cannot be told until material is gathered from all parts of the world, an examination of materials now on hand discloses that the following publishers issued one or more of the products of the Deutsche Informationsstelle: Flanders Hall (United States); Ediciones Rubinos (Spain); Nakladatelstvi "Orbis" (Czechoslovakia); Edições Alma (Portugal); Leuzinger S. A. and Casa Editora Vecchi (Brazil); and Maison Internationale (Belgium).

Of the publishers on this list, we are, of course, most directly concerned with the activities of Flanders Hall in this country. The following is believed to be a complete list of Flanders Hall publications:

1. *THE SLAVE BUSINESS*, by George W. Booker [1941]
2. *MISADVENTURE IN SCANDINAVIA*, by Arno Deutelmöser [1940]
3. *INHUMANITY UNLIMITED; INDIA, ONE-SIXTH OF MANKIND IN CHAINS* from the French of Jeanne D'Arc Dillon La Touche [1940]
4. *DOUBLECROSS IN PALESTINE*, by Nathaniel Greene [1941?]
5. *DEMOCRACY ON THE NILE; HOW BRITAIN HAS "PROTECTED" EGYPT*, compiled from British sources by Sayid Halassie, D. D. [1940]
6. *THE HAPLESS BOERS*, translated from the Dutch of Eugen Vroom [1940]
7. *SEVEN PERIODS OF IRISH HISTORY*, edited by Shaemus O'Sheel [copyright, [1940]]
8. *IT HAPPENED AGAIN; HOW THE WAR CAME*, by Adolphus van Werth [1940]

9. WAR AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN, by Werner Schaeffer [1941]
10. THE 100 FAMILIES THAT RULE THE EMPIRE, by Giseler Wirsing, with a preface by George Sylvester Viereck [copyright, 1941]
11. CHILDREN OF THE SLUMS, edited by James Burr Hamilton [1941]
12. THE WHIPPING BLOCK, A STUDY OF ENGLISH EDUCATION, edited by James Burr Hamilton [1941]
13. LORD LOTHIAN VS. LORD LOTHIAN; EXCERPTS FROM THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN, BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES. Foreword by James Burr Hamilton [copyright, 1940]
14. THE SCARLET FINGERS, by S. H. Hauck [1939]
15. WE MUST SAVE THE REPUBLIC, by Stephen A. Day, Congressman-at-Large, State of Illinois [copyright, 1941]

It has long been known that some of the publications of Flanders Hall were reprinted with various modifications from German originals, but the material now at hand enables us to analyze with a fair degree of completeness the activities of this firm. Corresponding to the first six titles on the Flanders Hall list, we have identified the following publications of the Deutsche Informationsstelle:

1. *England als Sklavenhandler und Sklavenhalter*, by E. A. Oblert.
2. *England gegen Skandinavien*, by Arno Deutelmöser.
3. *Englands Herrschaft in Indien*, by Reinhard Frank.
4. *Englands Regiment in Palästina*, by Gert Winsch.
5. *Englands Gewaltpolitik am Nil*, by Paul Schmitz-Kairo.
6. *England und die Buren*, by Stefan Schroeder.

With the seventh title on the Flanders Hall list we encounter a variation. The Deutsche Informationsstelle published in German and English *Englands Gewaltherrschaft in Irland*, by Werner Schaeffer. On the same subject Flanders Hall published a different text, namely, SEVEN PERIODS OF IRISH HISTORY. The connection of the works can be demonstrated through the illustrations which are identical in all three and the motto which appears on all three title pages. The Library of Congress has two anti-British pamphlets published by Shaemus O'Sheel dur-

ing the last war, one of which was published by the Fatherland Press in this country and in Germany.

We have not been able to find the German original of the eighth Flanders Hall title, but we have found a work which has the same text, *WAR OVER EUROPE* by van Wehrt published in Berlin, in English. The ninth title has not turned up as a German publication, but the name of its author and the company it keeps are conclusive evidence for the existence of a German original. The tenth title was preceded by a German original, but in this instance Flanders Hall made no attempt to disguise the origin of their publication because the German original was known in this country. Nos. 11, 12, and 13 have not been identified with German originals. It is likely that they were prepared especially for consumption in this country by George Sylvester Viereck using the pseudonym James Burr Hamilton. No. 14 was written by the editor of Flanders Hall and is "poor but honest" propaganda. Concerning No. 15, nothing need be said.

In Brazil, Casa Editora Vecchi issued many of these titles. The following have been definitely identified:

1. *India, sua vida de Nação*, by Reinhard Frank.
(Originally *Englands Herrschaft in Indien*.)
2. *A Palestina e o problema arabe*, by Gert Wirsch.
(Originally *Englands Regiment in Palästina*.)
3. *Irlanda, paiz independente*, by Werner Schaeffer.
(Originally *Englands Gewaltherrschaft in Irland*.)
4. *Nilo, rio escravo*, by Paul Schmitz-Kairo.
(Originally *Englands Gewaltpolitik am Nil*.)

We could continue to list many more interesting "similarities" in the collection. There is a work called *England Annektiert*, by Ferdinand Gral, published by Deutsche Informationsstelle. We find it also in French published by Maison Internationale in Brussels and in Spanish without author or imprint. We find texts by Roelli published in Madrid by Ediciones Rubinos and in Prague by Nakladatelstvi "Orbis". Favorite authors such as V. Muthesius, Carlo Scarfoglio, and Werner Schaeffer turn up

in all languages. It is noteworthy that nothing is ever mentioned about works being translations from German originals. In this, as in the modification of authors' names in imprints, everything has been done to improve the effectiveness of the propaganda by disguising its origin. It is in keeping with other aspects of Naziism that its publishing activity presents a record of deceit and double-dealing without parallel in publishing history.

MORTIMER TAUBE
Assistant Chief, General Reference
and Bibliography Division

Nazi Victims In the World of Books

ON MAY 10, 1933, the Nazis committed a crime which in the realm of matters spiritual will make their name ill-famed forever. They burned books. Books were thrown on to the faggots and went up in flames which made all the more apparent the darkness of the Nazi Age.

The Library of Congress held it appropriate and necessary to mark the tenth anniversary of this event by an exhibition which was opened officially by a panel discussion. Representatives of the United Nations and Germans in exile discussed the thorny problem of the re-education of the German people.

The exhibit demonstrated what the most elaborate annotated catalog or skilful description could not have done. It was a synopsis of the achievements of human genius and talent of both hemispheres in all fields of arts and sciences throughout the centuries which the neo-barbarism of the Nazis had honored by its ban.

There they ranged, many in priceless old editions: The Bible, Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, the works of Moses Mendelssohn, Heinrich Heine, Arthur Schnitzler, Stefan Zweig, Karl Kraus, Thomas Mann, Heinrich Mann, Walther Rathenau, Sigmund Freud, Albert Einstein, Thomas G. Masaryk, Karel Capek, Sinclair Lewis, Emile Zola, Fedor M. Dostoevski—an unending line, not only German but also English, American, French, Spanish, Italian, Russian writers, poets and scientists.

The Library of Congress has made it a policy to build up a model collection of these victims of Nazi barbarism. This particular policy will be readily understood as an application of the general policy that the Library of Congress should possess "full and representative collections of the written records of those societies and peoples whose experience is of most immediate concern to the people of the United States."

Can there be a more immediate concern to the people of the United States than the experience of that group of the German people which has become the object and victim of Nazi madness running amuck and involving the people of the United States in a war which has turned Europe into a bloody slaughterhouse and doomed to destruction much of its ancient culture and civilization?

The authors mentioned here are already represented in the Library of Congress. But since the collections of the works of individual authors of importance in this Library should be as complete as possible, the following acquisitions are intended to fill lacunae in the collections.

These authors and their books will, therefore, not present a systematic account along any historic or aesthetic lines. They should be taken as scattered details of a large mosaic, finished to a considerable extent but still showing empty spots in more or less important parts of the picture.

Heinrich Mann, born in 1871, now living in this country, may aptly head the list. An old-time fighter for democracy against political and social absolutism, against militarism and capitalism of the Wilhelminian era in novels, as *Der Kopf* or *Die Armen*, against Fascists and Nazis, he truly represents the "other Germany." The holdings of the Library of Congress are not as complete as they should be with respect to his importance as novelist and essayist. Now, a novel, *Die Jagd nach Liebe*, and his significant collection of essays, *Macht und Mensch* (Leipzig, 1919), have been added to the collection. These essays

are dedicated to the German (Weimar) Republic, which he regarded as the fulfilment of his political dreams.

A counterpart to the North German of the old "Hansestadt" Luebeck is the Franco-Bavarian Jacob Wassermann (1873-1934). He was born at Fuerth, near Nuremberg, and made, in his later years, his stately home on the shores of the lovely lake of Aussee, in the mountains of Austria, where he, at last, if not his books, was safe from the Nazi outrages and persecutions. A notable contradiction to all racial theories, Wassermann in many of his novels, such as *Kaspar Hauser* or *Das Gaensemaennchen*, represents by the classic presentation of the very flavor of his home province what Fritz Lienhard and the Nazi-approved Adolf Bartels stamped as "Heimatkunst." The tragic conflict of his life and work, found its deep and truly human expression in his confessional *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude*. A first edition, with the author's autograph, of *Alexander in Babylon*, "the picture of an oriental world glowing in metallic colors," has lately been received.

Austria, in the literary sense, has to be considered as a province of Germany. As an Austrian author, Max Brod may be claimed, since at the time of his birth (1884) his native city of Prague was the capital of the Austrian province of the Kingdom of Bohemia. Having started his literary career under the influence of naturalism as was to be expected of a writer growing up at that time, he developed in his mature writings an impressionistic vein. His best known and most serious work, *Tycho Brahe's Weg zu Gott*, shows the influence of the great lyric poet Rainer Maria Rilke, also a native of Prague. Although Max Brod's work might well have been banned from German libraries on racial grounds, it exhibited in its pacifist tendencies another quality equally odious to the Nazi régime. The book *Das grosse Wagnis* (Leipzig-Wien, 1919), written at the end of the World War, which has been added to the collections of the Library of Congress, deals with the problems of a society then expected to develop.

An Austrian poet in the proper sense of the word is the Viennese Albert Ehrenstein (born 1886), also an exile of his native country. He published not only passionate poetry against the cruelty of war, but also adaptations of Greek and Asiatic legends. *Schi-King, das Liederbuch China's*, recently acquired by the Library of Congress, is a modern re-creation of Chinese poetry.

There are other books worth mentioning which have found their way into the all-embracing stacks of this great library: *Blaubart und Ilsbill* (Berlin, 1923), by Alfred Doeblin (born 1878), one of the representative German expressionists. It is one of his earlier books, preceding his well known grand reportage *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. There are *Die Heiligen. Legendaere Geschichten* (Munich, 1919) and *Martha Munk* (Wupperthal-Barmen, 1933), by Alfred Neumann. The tragic failure of the German Republic is dealt with in *Die Tragoedie eines Volkes: Deutschland 1918-1934* (Amsterdam, 1934), by the exiled Catholic Prince Hubertus Loewenstein. The Library of Congress has also an English translation of the book.

MAX LEDERER
War Agencies Collection
Serials Division

Review of the Quarter

RARE BOOKS DIVISION

MR. LESSING J. ROSENWALD has added to his distinguished collection nearly fifty volumes which nicely supplement the well printed and finely illustrated books he had previously assembled and presented to the Library. Eleven incunabula titles increase the total of the Rosenwald volumes in that category to 220. Six of these new books, like a surprisingly large number of those already donated by Mr. Rosenwald, are not represented in other American collections, a meaningful statement which is applicable to a surprisingly large number of the Rosenwald books. Prominent among the new acquisitions is a copy of Giordano Ruffo's *Arte di Cognoscere la Natura Cavalli*, printed at Venice by Petrus de Quarengiis about 1493. Few copies of this early treatise on horses are known; in fact Dr. Klebs in his *Incunabula Scientifica et Medica* locates only the copies in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is also a significant addition because of the engraving depicting St. Aloisius at his forge, which serves as a frontispiece. Another illustrated volume of unusual interest is a perfect copy of the *Ars Vitae Contemplativae* of 1473, ascribed to the Nuremberg press of Friedrich Creussner. Again no other copy is recorded in American ownership, and the Gesamtkatalog locates only four perfect copies in European libraries. Containing two xylographic pages, the volume has an intimate relationship with the ten block-books in the collection.

Boethius' *Arithmetica*, printed at Augsburg in 1488, is one of the earliest arithmetics to be published. Printed by Erhard

Ratdolt, whose typographic achievements have long been emphasized, it is not a particularly uncommon book, but until the present copy was acquired by Mr. Rosenwald it was lacking from the Library's collection.

Other items include the 1493 Venice edition in Italian of Dante's *La Commedia* with Landino's commentary; an edition printed for Claude Jaumar of Thomas à Kempis' *Hortulus Rosarum* (Second Census T322) bound with Guillermus Houppelande's *De Immortalitate Animae* (Paris, 1493), not recorded in the Second Census; a 1498 *Imitatio Christi*, bound with a 1499 edition of the *Meditationes* of St. Augustine (Gesamtkatalog 2983) and four other similar works of the early sixteenth century; and the three short devotional works: Gregorius I, *Sancta Maria Perpetua* (Rome: Eucharius Silber?, about 1498); *Psalterium Divae Virginis Mariae* (Paris: Antoine Vêrard, before 1499); and *Translatio Miraculosa Ecclesie Beate Marie Virginis de Loreto* (Rome: Eucharius Silber?, 1498).

Illustrative of the sixteenth-century imprints added to the collection are fine copies of Franchinus Gafurius' *De Harmonia Musicorum Instrumentorum* (Milan, 1518), which contains several full page woodcuts on musical subjects, the 1527 Wynkyn de Worde London edition in English of Jacobus de Voragine's GOLDEN LEGEND, Cesare Vecelli's *Corona delle Nobili et Virtuose Donne* (Venice, 1592-93), formerly in the collection of Robert Hoe; Jost Amman and Virgil Solis' *Effigies Regum Francorum Omnium ad Vivum Expressae* (Nuremberg, 1576); and the 1531 illustrated edition in German of Cicero's *De Officiis*.

Recent acquisitions which are representative of a later period are copies of eleven of the deluxe and extravagant catalogues which the late Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan had prepared and printed as guides to his many and varied collections. The four volume CATALOGUE OF THE COLLECTION OF MINIATURES (1906); THE IMPERIAL RUSSIAN DINNER SERVICE (1909); the CATALOGUE OF THE COLLECTION OF JEWELS AND PRECIOUS

WORKS OF ART (1910) with the plates in two states, one set colored by hand, all compiled by G. C. Williamson; and the four volume CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTED BOOKS . . . NOW FORMING PORTION OF THE LIBRARY OF J. PIERPONT MORGAN are printed throughout on pure vellum.

But most outstanding of all the volumes recently acquired for the Rosenwald Collection is the vellum copy of the Kelmscott Chaucer from the library of Cortlandt F. Bishop. Certainly the most famous of the books produced by the Kelmscott Press, the volume under any criteria is comparable to the finest achievements of any press from the time printing was invented. It is a work of monumental beauty and occupies a distinguished position in typographical history. With the acquisition of this work Mr. Rosenwald has virtually completed his collection of Kelmscott Press Books. He has secured copies of all of the fifty-three items recorded in the official list of the books printed at the Press, thirty-three of which are printed on vellum. In ten instances the collection contains both the vellum and paper copies. The possession of such a collection by the National Library is a matter of more than casual interest.

In addition to the acquisitions by gift, the Rare Books Division has recently been enriched by several significant purchases. We are particularly pleased to report the acquisition of the *Vryheden By de Vergaderinghe van de Negenthien vande Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie* . . . (Amsterdam, 1630). Containing the privileges granted by the Assembly of the Nineteen in the name of the West India Company to all who might settle in the colony of New Netherlands, it has the distinction of being the earliest separate publication relating to New Netherlands. Upon these privileges was founded the system of patroonships which played such a major role in the economic and social development of that colony. According to Sabin there are three slightly variant issues of this work. The Library's copy belongs to the second issue, being similar to the copies in the Henry E. Huntington Library, the John Carter

Brown Library and the William L. Clements Library. Only five other copies of all issues are recorded.

Not unrelated to this New York piece is the second edition of Levinus Hulsius' *Zwölffte Schiffahrt Oder Kurtz Beschreibung der Newen Schiffahrt gegen Nord Osten uber die Amerische Inseln in Chinam und Japponiam von einem Engelländer Heinrich Hudson newlich erfunden* (Oppenheim, 1627). One of the rarest parts of Hulsius' collection of voyages, this work contains an account of Hudson's voyage in search of the Northwest Passage to the Indies and his discovery of Hudson Bay in 1611, as well as accounts of two voyages made by Linschoten, taken from the Latin edition of his voyages published in 1599. The voyage made by Petrus Fernandez de Quir resulting in the discovery of Australia, and extracts relative to Siberia by Isaac Massa are also included. With the exception of the part devoted to Linschoten all accounts were first collected and published in Dutch by Hessel Gerritsz in 1612. The next year De Bry published at Frankfurt a Latin translation of Gerritsz including the voyages of Linschoten as Part X of his *SMALL VOYAGES*. Hulsius in turn translated it into German for publication at Oppenheim in 1614. The second edition of this translation, published thirteen years later, is the volume we have just acquired. It is well illustrated with several curious plates and maps of Northern Russia, Lapland and Greenland.

The emphasis necessarily placed upon the Americana in the Rare Books Division has a tendency to overshadow other important groups of material in the collection which deserve attention. It is therefore interesting to record that among the recent acquisitions there are a dozen early sixteenth-century editions of works significant in the history of thought and science.

Indicative of their variety are such items as an edition in Italian of Pietro de Crescenzi's *De Agricultura* (Venice, 1519), of which the Library has seven fifteenth-century editions, including the first Latin edition and the German, Italian and

French translations; a 1504 edition of Bartholemaeus Platina's *Vitae Pontificum* printed at Venice, of which the Library has three earlier editions; Michael Scotus' *Physiognomia* (Venice, 1508); and a 1516 Nuremberg edition of the *Hortulus Animae*, an illustrated book of devotions of which the Library also has copies of the editions of 1507 and 1517. Two works of Erasmus, the 1520 editions of his *Encomium Moriae* and *Adagiorum Collectanea* also belong to this early period.

Characteristic of a slightly later period is the first German adaptation of Johannes de Thurocz' *Chronica Hungariae* (Vienna, 1534), first printed in a Latin edition of 1488, a copy of which incidentally is available in the Rosenwald Collection. Georg Agricola's *De Ortu et Causis Subterraneorum Libri V . . .* (Basle, 1546) is the first edition of a work of the highest importance. In it the author, who is frequently referred to as the "father of mineralogy," criticized the theories of the ancients and laid the first foundations of a physical geology. The *Luminario, seu Liber Elementorum Litterarum* of Giambattista di Verini, probably printed at Tolcolano about 1526, contains reproductions finely engraved on wood of the various types of calligraphy in use at that time.

MANUSCRIPTS

Among the recent acquisitions of value relating to British and American enterprises in the Pacific and in the Orient are seven items from the papers of the English East India Company, 1781 to 1785, which include three letters of Warren Hastings; the plan of 1787, of James Trevenen, an associate of Captain James Cook, to establish trade on the Northwest coast of America; and a letter from another associate of Captain Cook, James Burney, July 15, 1808, embodying proposals for inspection and improvement of charts for the British Navy. A highly prized item is the journal of Harriet Low, 1829 to 1834, in nine volumes. This record, written by this young American girl at

Macao and Canton, contains the most vivacious and detailed description now known of the social life of the early American and British traders to China. In the realm of economic history there are three letter-books of the mercantile firm of A. A. Low & Bros., of New York, 1871 to 1873, principally the correspondence of Abiel Abbot Low and his brother and partner, Josiah Orne Low, and their agents at Hongkong, Shanghai, Yokohama and London. Their letters deal with trade developments between the West and the Orient. Another item is a scrapbook of the Reverend Francis D. Gamewell, pertaining to his work as a Methodist missionary and his services in helping to preserve the British Legation at Peking besieged for fifty-six days during the Boxer uprising.

To the late Charles M. Andrews the Library of Congress is in a large measure indebted for the initiation of the acquisition of reproductions of manuscripts in British archives dealing with American history. Professor Andrews himself accumulated a considerable collection of transcripts of manuscripts in those archives for use in his writing on American colonial history. Some of these have commentaries by Professor Andrews which add to their interest. Through the kindness of Mrs. Andrews these transcripts, which comprise 1,606 pages, have been given to the Library.

The Journals of Colonel Christopher French, revealing the supercilious attitude toward the American colonists which marked so many of the military as well as the governing class in eighteenth-century England, exhibit one cause of the American Revolution. Remaining until recently in the hands of the French family at Cloonyquin, Ireland, the three volumes, into which several journals of Colonel French have been bound, tell a story of interest to America.

The military career of Colonel French extended from the reign of George I into that of George III. The Journals begin with his voyage from Cork, Ireland, to America, in 1756. Two volumes extend through the Seven Years War, covering a wide

geographical range of both land and sea. The third volume has to do with the period of the American Revolution.

To the Papers of the Presidents have been added sixty-four letters written by Zachary Taylor to Thomas S. Jesup, in the period 1818-1840. This group belonged originally to the papers of General Jesup; but, although some photostatic copies were obtained, the original letters were not acquired with the Jesup papers when these came to the Library in 1936. A fortunate purchase now restores them to their proper association.

Through the generosity of Dr. Ellsworth Eliot, Jr., of New York, the Library has been permitted to make photocopies of twenty-seven letters of John Adams to Benjamin Rush, recently acquired by Dr. Eliot. Dr. Eliot made possible, also, the reproduction of a letter of John Adams to General Washington, October 9, 1798, copied by the latter in his own hand. Though these are printed in the volume, *OLD FAMILY LETTERS: COPIED FROM THE ORIGINALS FOR ALEXANDER BIDDLE, Series A*, published in Philadelphia in 1892, the reproductions of the letters constitute a valued addition to the papers of the second President of the United States.

Recent additions to manuscripts pertaining to American statesmen include twenty-one letters of Robert Morris, one of Robert Livingston and one of William Bingham. A large and valuable supplement to the rich Thomas J. Clay collection, 1761 to 1907, includes additional papers of Henry Clay, James B. Clay, Harry Clay, James Morrison and others, as well as much material on economic questions. The papers of the Breckinridge family have been augmented by Dr. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge; and those of the Bliss-Bancroft Collection through the kindness of Miss Elizabeth B. Bliss. Very important additions have been made to the collection of papers of the late Senator George W. Norris.

Quite apart from collections of great significance in themselves, there are many fields in which the holdings of the Library grow and become rich through the accretion of single

items in themselves not very important. In the field of Civil War history particularly the Division of Manuscripts has welcomed over a period of many years journals, diaries and letters of the men in the ranks of the armed conflicts in which the United States has participated. Such is the Diary of John Augustus Johnson, of Massachusetts, which covers the period March 8 to July 17, 1865, and the Journals—apparently a copy—of Lothrop Lincoln Lewis, of Maine, August 29, 1864, to June 26, 1865. More formal is the "Order & Letter Book" of the United States Army Medical Department, Sixth Corps, Army of the Potomac, September 24, 1862, to March 13, 1865.

Between 1919 and 1930 the Library of Congress acquired the correspondence of Commodore John Rodgers (1773-1838), extending from 1775 to 1836. The papers of Montgomery C. Meigs (1816-1892), long distinguished in the service of the Engineer Corps, and Quartermaster General of the United States Army throughout most of the Civil War, likewise came to the Library in the course of these years. Louisa Rodgers, one of the daughters of the Commodore, married Montgomery C. Meigs. The connections and the friendships of the Rodgers and Meigs families were closely knit, and there was much correspondence reflecting varied interests, both as to national affairs and as to the smaller world of Washington.

Both the Rodgers papers and those of General Meigs have lately been enriched by additional gifts received respectively from the Misses Macomb and from members of the Meigs family, through Mrs. Melvin Green. In the new Rodgers papers are found letters of the Commodore, his wife and their many children, and also several from distinguished officers of the United States Navy, including Stephen Decatur, David Porter, J. A. Porter, M. C. Perry and others. While family matters are prominent in the correspondence, naval, military and political affairs appear. One finds, for example, a picture of the experience and feeling of one family at least, on the night when President Lincoln was assassinated.

In the new Meigs papers, on the other hand, there are forty-five letters of General Meigs, with others of General Sherman, Frederick W. Seward and David D. Porter, to name only a few. There is also a volume of autograph letters signed, written by General Meigs in 1875 to his wife and daughter in the course of a journey in Europe, where he attended the German army maneuvers. Also of interest is General Meigs' Journal of the Battle of Chattanooga in November 1863. A series of thirteen volumes of drawings, 1850-1885, is now added to the collection. These principally relate to engineering.

In December 1943, Dr. Ellery C. Stowell presented a small collection of papers of the Fuller-Stowell families, including correspondence and poems of Sarah Fuller and others, written during the first half of the nineteenth century. This year, Dr. Stowell, distinguished publicist on international affairs, has presented his own papers, embracing, besides family correspondence, letters and papers related to his life work. Included also are a large amount of photographic material and drafts of Dr. Stowell's own writings in the field of political science.

To the Library's store of manuscripts which relate to literary men there have been added sixteen letters of the historian and philosopher John Fiske. The letters in this group were written mainly to his mother, between 1868 and 1887. They portray his literary ambitions, the influence of Huxley, Spencer, Lord Russell and other British scholars on his writings, and his success as a historical lecturer.

ORIENTALIA

Of various gifts to the Chinese Section, the following items, of both historical and current interest—which the donors assembled in the course of brief or longer sojourns in China—may here be mentioned:

MEMENTOS OF A TRIP TO CHINA, comprising books and other items presented by Vice President Henry A. Wallace

after his return from that country in July 1944. The books deal chiefly with the history of Chinese agriculture, and with the life of the great Chinese reformer, Wang An-shih (1021-1086). In addition, there are photographs, invitations and letters reminiscent of the trip.

The Vice President also brought back—as a gift to the Library of Congress from the Chinese Minister of Education, Ch'ên Li-fu—a large wall scroll depicting in water-color a delightful incident in the life of Confucius, as recorded in the *Analects*, Book XI, Chapter 25. The translation which follows is, with slight variations, that of the late Professor W. E. Soot-hill:

Once when Tzŭ Lu, Tsêng Hsi, Jan Ch'iu and Kung-hsi Hua were seated with the Master, he said, "You no doubt consider me a day or so your senior, but pray do not so consider me. Living in private life, you are each saying: 'I am unknown.' But suppose some prince were to take notice of you, what would you like to do?"

Tzŭ Lu in offhand manner replied, "Give me a kingdom of a thousand chariots, hemmed in by two great powers, oppressed by invading troops, with famine superadded, and let me have its administration—in three years' time I could make it brave and, moreover, make it know the right course to pursue." The Master smiled at him.

"And how about you, Ch'iu?" "Give me a district of sixty or seventy *li* square," he answered, "or say one of fifty or sixty *li* square, and let me have its administration—in three years' time I could make its people dwell in plenty; but as to the arts of civilization, I should have to await a nobler man."

"And how about you, Ch'ih?" [Kung-hsi Hua] answered saying, "I do not say that I could do it, but I should like to learn. I would like, at the service in the Great Ancestral Temple, or say, at the Prince's Imperial Audience, to take part in cap and gown, as a minor assistant."

"And how about you, Tien?" [Tsêng Hsi] pausing as he thrummed his harp, its notes still vibrating, left the instrument, arose, and replied, saying, "My wishes are different from those presented by these three gentlemen." "What harm in that?" said the Master; "let each name his desire." "Mine would be," he said, "towards the end of Spring, with the dress of the season all complete, along with five or six newly capped young men, and six

or seven youths, to go and wash in the River I, enjoy the breezes among the Rain Altars and return home singing."

The Master heaved a deep sigh and said, "I am with Tien."

WEST CHINA BORDER PUBLICATIONS. Mr. Owen Lattimore, who accompanied the Vice President on his trip to China, also presented to the Library some twenty periodicals, published in West China, and dealing with problems of the western frontier. They are of interest because the articles in them reveal a new consciousness on the part of the Chinese of the problems arising from their new contacts with the Tibetans, Mohammedans, and Mongolians on the western and northwestern borders. Numerous articles written by the anthropologist, Mr. Li An-chê, and by his wife, Yü Shih-yü, impressed Mr. Lattimore as especially timely. Mr. Li deplors the lack of a long-term policy in dealing particularly with the Tibetans and the Mongolians, who live in sparsely settled areas with slow methods of communication, and speak languages and maintain customs which are not easy for the Chinese to comprehend unless they make a special effort to do so. In his opinion, military occupation is not enough; the Chinese civil personnel in these areas must be trained, must be appointed for a definite number of years and should be animated by a spirit of service to the people among whom they live. The problem is not unlike that which the United States has long faced in its dealings with the American Indians. The articles by Mrs. Li are written in a singularly fresh and simple narrative style, portraying with unusual fidelity and naturalness the religious and social customs of the Tibetans, particularly the life of their women.

While in Mongolia with the Vice President, Mr. Lattimore was given copies, in the Mongol language, of the Constitution and the Labor Law of Outer Mongolia. Of these two items—probably the only examples now in the United States—he presented photostat reproductions to the Library of Congress.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH MACNAIR CHINESE COLLECTION. The books in the Chinese language, comprising more than a hundred items, used by the late Florence Ayscough in her translations of Chinese poetry and in her writings on Chinese women, were presented by her husband, Professor Harley Farnsworth MacNair. Most of the volumes have in them the *ex libris* of both Professor and Mrs. MacNair, which bears a motto taken from the Confucian *Analects*, Book VII, Chapter 2, "Learning without satiety, Teaching without being weary." The collection contains, in addition to poetry, history and biography, works on drama and calligraphy in which Florence Ayscough was also interested.

MEMENTOS OF THE BOXER REBELLION. Dr. Frank D. Gamewell (born 1857), upon whom fell the chief responsibility for fortifying the Legation Quarter in Peking in 1900, presented in person to the Library a scrapbook of very interesting memorabilia relating to that fateful summer. It contains numerous letters from the United States Minister, E. H. Conger, and also from Sir Claude Macdonald, Seth Low of Columbia University, F. W. Williams of Yale University and others. In addition, there are badges worn by those in authority during the siege, telegrams and, perhaps most impressive of all, the yellow printed Insignia of the First Boxer Corps with a seal indicating that it had Imperial sanction. The names of eight villages from which the Corps was recruited appear on the document.

SOUVENIRS OF AN ENGINEER'S SOJOURN IN CHINA. In 1898 William Barclay Parsons (1859-1932), the eminent American engineer who later planned the first New York subway, was asked to make a survey of a proposed railway from Hankow to Canton. He brought back with him a manuscript map of the Wuchang area, some letters and calling cards of Chinese officials of note whom he met—mementos which his

wife has presented to the Library at the suggestion of the well-known writer on Chinese art, Dr. J. C. Ferguson. Among the calling cards, which are the large vermillion-colored ones in use in that day, are those of Viceroy Chang Chih-tung; of Prince Ch'ing (I-k'uang); of Yü-kêng (d. 1905), father of Princess Der Ling; and of four of the liberal officials—Hsü Yung-i, Hsü Ching-ch'êng, Yüan Ch'ang and Lien-yüan—who were unjustly put to death in 1900 for boldly flouting the superstitious claims of the Boxers. The gift contains, in addition, Chinese calling cards used by four Westerners whose English names are partially identified, in Mr. Parsons' handwriting, as Brice, Hunt, Major and Wetmore.

THE INDIC SECTION has received in the current quarter six hundred and thirty-three items, including seventeen microfilms, on India, Tibet and Ceylon. These are in addition to items received by continuation orders, which now account for about fifty per cent of acquisitions in the Indic field.

The subjects most strongly represented are biography, economics, government and politics, history, industry, language, law, literature, philosophy and religion, serials (new) and social sciences.

Acquisitions of special interest (starred items are considered most important):

*Sir Manilil B. Nanavati . . . and C. N. Vakil, eds.: *INDIA SPEAKING*. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1944. vii, 267 pp.

A symposium by Indian scholars on politics, culture, population, economics, industry and labor, finance, trade and transportation.

Bellew, Henry Walter: *A DICTIONARY OF THE PUKKHTO OR PUKSHTO LANGUAGE, IN WHICH THE WORDS ARE TRACED TO THEIR SOURCES IN THE INDIAN AND PERSIAN LANGUAGES*. London, Thacker and Co., 1867. xi, 355 pp.

A necessary linguistic tool for the study of a language used in the strategic border country Afghanistan.

BENARES MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY. PROCEEDING. Volume 1-16, 1919-34; new ser. vol. 1-, 1939-. Benares, India, 1919-.

India has always been famous for her mathematical genius. This periodical carries on the tradition.

Chatterji, Bijan Raj: INDIAN CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN CAMBODIA. Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1928. 303 pp.

The cultural history of Southeast Asia has preponderant links with India which may have bearing on future political developments. Mr. Chatterji is an authority on the Cambodian relations.

Chaudhuri, Jatindrabimal, ed.: SANSKRIT POETESSES. Edited with critical notes, etc., English introduction and translation by Roma Chaudhuri . . . Foreword by Dr. L. D. Barnett. Calcutta, J. Chaudhuri, 1941.

An excellent introduction to a neglected field of literature.

*Elwin, Verrier: THE AGARIA. With a foreword by Sarat Chandra Roy. London, Bombay, New York, H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1942. 292 pp.

Another study by an important writer on the aborigines of India.

Gajendragadkar, K. B.: LEGAL RIGHTS OF HINDU WOMEN (DISCUSSION OF SOME NECESSARY URGENT REFORMS). Foreword by the Rt. Hon'able M. R. Jayakar. Bombay, Indian Institute of Sociology, 1942. 27 pp.

A brief introduction to a complicated social problem.

*Goshal, Kumar: THE PEOPLE OF INDIA. New York, Sheridan House, 1944. 375 pp.

A historical exposition of current problems. The point of view is not new but is presented in a stimulating way.

*India. Central Advisory Board of Education: POST-WAR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA; REPORT BY THE CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF EDUCATION, January 1944. Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1944. 118 pp.

If the reforms suggested in this report are implemented, there will be some advance in post-war India.

India. Department of Finance and Commerce: **SPEECH MADE BY THE FINANCE MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON INTRODUCING THE BUDGET FOR 1944-45**, 29th February, 1944. London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1944. 24 pp.

An interesting illustration of how the British Government of India functions.

India. Laws, Statutes, etc.: **LEGISLATION AND ORDERS RELATING TO THE WAR**. 3d ed. Delhi, Manager of Publications.

A useful compilation of special laws.

Irving, B. A.: **COMMERCE OF INDIA**. London, Kegan Paul, 1858.

Any student of the East India Company's career in India will wish to consult this book written in the years of transition from Company to Crown.

*Iyengar, K. R. Srinivasa: **INDO-ANGLIAN LITERATURE**. Bombay, Pub. for the P. E. N. All-India Centre, by the International Book House, Ltd., 1943. 70 pp.

This is a good introduction to a subject which needs much more detailed study than it has received.

Mitra, Subal Chandra: **THE BEGINNERS' BENGALI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY**. 7th ed. Calcutta, S. C. Mitra and S. C. Mitra, The New Bengal Press, 1939. 1396 pp.

A good dictionary of one of the twelve important languages of India.

*Nikhilananda, Swami: **THE BHAGAVAD GITA**, translated from the Sanskrit, with notes, comments, and introduction. New York, Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, 1944. xvii, 386 pp.

Another translation and study of the most famous religious work of India.

Nikhilananda, Swami: **THE BHAGAVAD GITA**. New York, Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, 1944. xxix, 226 pp.

The popular edition of the preceding.

Prasad, Beni: **THE HINDU-MUSLIM QUESTION**. 2d and rev. ed. Anarkawi, Lahore, The Minerva Book Shop, 1943. 164 pp.

*Rao, P. R. Ramachandra: *DECAY OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES*. Foreword by J. C. Kumarappa. Bombay, D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 1935. 153 pp.

Although this book was written ten years ago its theme is as pertinent now as then.

*Rawlinson, Hugh George: *INDIA, A SHORT CULTURAL HISTORY*. Edited by Professor C. G. Seligman. London, The Cresset Press, 1943. 452 pp.

The point of view is open to question, but the book is compact and very readable.

Renou, Louis: *Terminologie grammaticale du sanskrit*. Paris, E. Champion, 1942. 3 vols.

An important study for linguistic scholars only.

Sonathanam, K.: *THE CRY OF DISTRESS*. New Delhi, Hindustan Times, 1943. (Microfilm).

Concerns the latest Indian famine and how it could have been prevented.

Thakurdas, Purshotamdas, and others: *A BRIEF MEMORANDUM OUTLINING A PLAN OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR INDIA*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Eng., New York, Penguin Books, 1944. 52 pp.

The famous "Bombay" plan for post-war industrialization.

IN THE SERIALS DIVISION appears a recently accessioned volume of an 1832 Philadelphia newspaper which had bound in with the issues ten carriers' addresses in broadside form. All are poetical. The following paragraphs are quoted from the "Carriers' Address to the Patrons of the Saturday Bulletin":

Again we hail, with joyous song,
The dawning of a bright New Year!
And Time, who urges all along,
Still finds your faithful Carrier here.
With shivering frame he patient stands,
And gives you this with open hands,
And doubts not, when the subject's known,
Yours will be open as his own.

The purpose of such verses does not differ from that of the gaudy calendars offered by present-day newsboys during the holiday seasons. These ten samples of the broadsides of 1832 include offerings from the AMERICAN SENTINEL, EPISCOPAL RECORDER, NATIONAL GAZETTE, PENNSYLVANIA WHIG, PHILADELPHIA ALBUM AND LADIES LITERARY PORTFOLIO, PHILADELPHIA GAZETTE, POULSON'S AMERICAN DAILY ADVERTISER, REPORTER AND COUNTERFEIT DETECTOR, SATURDAY BULLETIN AND SATURDAY COURIER. They have been added to the collection of nearly 300 in the Rare Book Room.

Among the accessions of old newspapers is a volume of THE YORK CHRONICLE, AND GENERAL ADVERTISER for January 11, 1782, to December 31, 1784, published at York, England by W. Blanchard & Company. This weekly has frequent American items regarding the delayed exchange of prisoners, removal of loyalists from Yorktown and New York, petition and resolution against continuing the American war, privateers, De Grasse's fleet, His Majesty's speech to Parliament on the peace treaty and the text of the treaty, the evacuation of New York, increasing commerce and shipbuilding and the rising tide of emigration. Throughout the volume numerous items show a surprising public interest in aeronautics as represented by balloon ascensions. These experiments were sometimes successful and at others disastrous but they continued. July 18, 1784, W. Blanchard made his "third aerial voyage" and "Lunardi's aerial excursion" took place September 23, 1784, before the Prince of Wales and "such a number of persons . . . collected together" as "perhaps the English nation never witnessed, upon any occasion" before.